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A HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT OF PROFESSIONALISM IN CANADIAN SPORT

by

© FRANK COSENTINO

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled A HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT OF PROFESSIONALISM IN CANADIAN SPORT submitted by FRANK COSENTINO in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the concept of professionalism in Canadian sport. Prior to 1884, it was found that professionalism was likely to be linked with one's occupation. Sport was, at that time, the perogative of the wealthy since they had the time available. In order to insure that competition was equalized, the terms amateur and professional were becoming more common towards the end of this period. The "amateur" was likely to refer to a member of the elite of society or perhaps a person with a sedentary type of occupation, for example a bank clerk. The professional was considered to be a person who worked at an occupation related to a sport skill, for example a boatman or a footman, or perhaps a person who was engaged in some form of manual labor. In each of the latter cases, the worker was considered to have an unfair advantage over the "amateur".

With the shorter working hours and the increased opportunity for sporting competitions, money was used as the distinguishing feature of the professional athlete. In 1880 and 1884, the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen and the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada were

formed to regulate rowing and track and field. Each of these organizations used money as the guage of a performer's athletic status. From 1884 to 1932, conflicting trends developed. While amateur authorities were attempting to conduct sporting competitions free from the "taint" of money, technological advances were such that conditions were bettered in allowing for high level competition.

Entrepreneurs recognized the possibilities of sport as a means of earning money and by the mid-depression period, a commercial basis for sport had been established. With improved transportation and the developing of the electronic media, the professional's exploits were exposed to an increasing number of followers of his sport. As Canadian "amateur" hockey teams suffered losses at the hands of the European "amateur" teams, the status of the professional player benefitted by comparison. The professional was first accepted by the general public and then surrounded with an aura of invincibility until the summer of 1972 when an "amateur" team from the Soviet Union shattered the myth of professional invincibility.

PREFACE

IF——

If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you,
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too;
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or being hated, don't give way to hating,
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise:

If you can dream–and not make dreams your master;
If you can think–and not make thoughts your aim;
If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster
And treat those two impostors just the same;
If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,
And stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools:

If you can make one heap of all your winnings
And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,
And lose, and start again at your beginnings
And never breathe a word about your loss;
If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
To serve your turn long after they are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you
Except the Will which says to them: "Hold on!"

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with Kings–nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count with you, but none too much;
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
And–which is more–you'll be a Man, my son!

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INTRODUCTION

The Professional. What is he? Does he prostitute the ends of sport? Is he a specialist? Is he one who plays for money? In sports, he has been characterized by one or all of these descriptions as well as others. Strangely enough, however, the same is not true in other fields of endeavor. It seems important, for example, in the field of teaching that practitioners of that art be characterized as "professionals"; that their organization be "professional"; that their ethics be "professional". By thusly being characterized, a mantle of respectability is attained.

The above is really the core of the problem of the "professional" in sports. In teaching, law, medicine or any other service-type occupation, "professionalism" is demanded. It is the "non-professional" who is the interloper and, as such, he is not tolerated. Indeed, organizations are formed to maintain and improve the standards of these "professional" groups. Prostitution? The charge is never levelled at these organizations. Specialization? In these "professional" organizations it appears to be a most natural outgrowth and as such is almost revered. Mercenaries? The charge is seldom heard. It is mainly the athlete and the politician who, in the past, have been ill-characterized by the term "professional".

Prostitution?

The dictionary definition of prostitute is "to devote to an improper purpose." One often hears that the end of the game is the game itself or, as Gardiner puts it, "manly rivalry for the pure joy of the contest."[1] Translated into other terms, this might be stated: "winning isn't important it's the game that counts." The adherent of this view holds that the game is an end in itself, and in fact, the end. All deviation from the end is considered to be an aberration. The deviate is therefore, as far as the holder of this view is concerned, classified as a "professional".

In 1967 an eminent physical educator visited the campus of McMaster University where he addressed the graduating class on the subject of "professionalism". His introduction to the topic was a story in which he narrated the propositioning of a male by a female of ill-repute. He described the "contact", the "hustling" and the subsequent walking off together, ending his description with, "that's professionalism."[2]

The problem, however, is further compounded. People who are said to compete for the "love of the game", are characterized as "amateurs". Those who supposedly play for more or less than the "love of the game", the deviates, are therefore "non-amateurs" and are more often referred to as "professionals". In reading almost any book which deals with sport in ancient times and was written in the nineteenth or twentieth century, the terms "amateur" and "professional" are introduced into the text. Since the terms were unknown in ancient times, this must be a classical example of the anachronism.

The concept of playing the game purely for the love of it is an interesting one. No one doubts that the athlete of the ancient era had a great love for his sport. However, can it be said, with conviction, that this was the sole purpose of his striving on the field of sport? Is not the mere fact that an activity, in the form of a game or a contest, is constructed in such a way as to determine a decision -- win, lose or draw -- enough to suggest that there are other acceptable ends of the activity? As long as man is engaged in a contest with another man, the elements or himself, a worthwhile end of that contest is, surely, to succeed. The danger, of course, of a professional athlete saying this is that he is immediately charged with promoting a "win at all cost" philosophy. Yet the same charge is not made when it is stated that an end of an examination is to pass it. As mentioned before, sports and politics seem to be in a separate category.

Yet, is the idea of winning so new? The Indians of North America rewarded the winners of their contests with a prize of some sort. The ancient Etruscans did similarly.[3] The Greeks certainly were no exception.

> They appear to have had little to say in praise of the good loser; Pindar twice speaks of defeated competitors slinking home in shame from the great festivals. It is not surprising, then, that the wits of the Hellenistic and Imperial epochs directed their shafts at unsuccessful performers. Lucilius tells of a winner, Eutychides, slow on the track but a flier to his meals, and of another, Erasistratus, whom not even an earthquake could inspire to show a turn of speed. Nicharchus has an epigram about Charmus, a dolichos runner who finished seventh in a field of six . . . .[4]

The purpose of this discussion has been to show that the idea of winning has been with mankind for many years and, as such, has been a recognized and desirable end of athletic competitions. In light of this, the equating of "professionalism" and prostitution is somewhat nebulous.

Specialization?

Another common equation is that of the "professional" with the specialist or excessivist. In many cases, this is linked with the mercenary aspect, tending to confuse even more the issue of defining a "professional". Woody states that "professionalism negated wholly the ideals of early athletics."[5] He goes on to say that specialization was needed to ensure success; quoting from many sources, most of which are uncomplimentary to athletics, of the ill-effects of specialization. Woody then declares that because of this specialization "amateurs had little chance of success against them."[6] Here again we see the introduction of a nineteenth century concept into the world of the ancient

Greeks.

Gardiner also refers to a professional in Greek athletics as one who found that "it was necessary to concentrate on some particular event, to specialize . . . ."[7] Yet Gardiner later confuses his terms and meanings when he states that by the time of the Peloponnesian War, the word "athlete" had come to mean "professional".[8] The confusion in meanings is evident when it is realized that the word "athlete" means, literally, "a competitor for a prize". This is not intended as a condemnation of Gardiner; rather this confusion of terms and meanings seems to be common among writers when discussing "professionalism". Their reasoning seems to be; by specialization, A wins; winning means a prize (money); prizes promote further specialization, (training) to ward off challenges; further specialization means more wins (money); thus the specialist and the prizewinner become equated. Or, in other words:

> the very essence of athletic sport is the rivalry it engenders. Rivalry in turn begets a desire for excellence, and excellence in any art mainly depends on the amount of time devoted to it. As the art develops, so the standard of excellence is being continually raised, until at length, we reach a perfection which can only be attained by those who devote their whole time and energies to its cultivation. This at last means the devotion of a life; and there being but few who can sacrifice their life to sport, which is a pastime without increment, the pastime without an income becomes a profession with one.[9]

From the above quotation, therefore, it is evidently Vassall's opinion that specialization, money and time are interrelated as far as a "professional" athlete is concerned.

A Mercenary?

There is probably less need to document evidence of money being the criterion of a "professional" athlete. To many people, this is the distinguishing feature of a "professional"; he plays for money. This "intrusion" of money into sport is usually condemned. However, in almost every other calling, money is accepted as a matter of fact. There is no good or evil, either intrinsic or derived, from the acceptance of money for teaching, music, drama, etc. But "when money enters into sport corruption is sure to follow."[10]

The argument goes on to infer that since the athlete is participating for money, he is liable to sell his services to the highest bidder, whether it is a briber or an organizer. To be sure, there have been cases of corruption in "professional" sport, as there have in "non-professional" sport. What does this prove? Perhaps only that "sin" is common to man. Yet the fear of this possibility of corruption and its contagion has been such that athletes who have partaken of an activity for money have been classified as "professional", thus further confusing the issue.

There are, of course, other interpretations of the term "professional". These have been advanced because they are among the most popular in the sports literature. Perhaps it would be worthwhile at this time, however, to look at another common interpretation of the "professional", notably that of being "not an amateur". Within that context, it is now necessary to undertake an investigation of the development of the term "amateur" in nineteenth century England. The purpose is to explore the limits of the "amateur" so as to explain that which exists outside the limits, in this case, the "professional".

The Development of The "Amateur"

The sports of the upper classes, that is "the politically powerful or socially privileged",[11] traditionally have been set apart from those of the rest of the population of Europe. The nobility of the fifteenth century adopted, as a pastime, the tournament, the serious form of military training of thirteenth century knights. During the Renaissance, noble sports were distinguished from ignoble. Fencing and riding were recommended by John Locke as contributors to good breeding.[12] The fifteenth century Italian game of Calcio had a playing regulation which stated that "all kinds of rascallions are not to be tolerated, neither artificiers, servants nor low born fellows but honourable soldiers, gentlemen, lords and princes."[13]

In the Renaissance period, those who were "refined" were the courtiers. Their equivalent in nineteenth century England were the gentlemen. They, too, had pursuits which were considered to be suitable, that is "polite" as opposed to "impolite".[14]

It was in this latter context that the word amateur was first used in France during the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715). It signified a connoisseur of the fine arts. First noted in Britain in 1784, it signified one who was fond of the "polite" arts of painting and music. Its first recorded usage in regards to sport was in 1801. At that time, ringside prize-fight spectators were described as "gentlemen-amateurs".[15] During the nineteenth century, the two words became synonymous.

The definition of an "amateur", in sport, in England was based on social distinctions. This is verified by the mid-nineteenth century English definition of an "amateur" as one who was not "by trade or employment a mechanic, artisan or labourer."[16] In 1871, the Henley Regatta committee declined an entry "on the grounds that the crew included people who were or had been mechanics, artisans and labourers."[17] In 1882, the same committee ruled that no menial or manual worker came within its definition of amateur.[18]

This is not to suggest that these social distinctions were accepted without question by everybody. One rather bitter "ex-amateur" wrote:

> I am convinced that it is my duty to give my experiences of the amateur, for, mind you, I have seen him in many characters, and never without experiencing a feeling of the most profound disgust for his stupid assumption, a sentiment of the bitterest contempt for his laughable incompetency, and a sensation of the most genuine loathing for his overweening conceit. . . . Amateurism is the curse of the nineteenth century; it is the essence of all that is false and contemptible. It is a pretty word for blatant folly, a nice name for invincible conceit.[19]

During the greater part of the nineteenth century, money from sport was not a determining factor regarding one's "amateur status". There are many examples of "amateurs" playing for "stakes", "entrance fees" and "wagers". In 1881, however, the Amateur Athletic Association was formed in England. It adopted the Henley definition of an "amateur", substituting, for the socially restrictive clause, a proviso "legislating against pecuniary advantage."[20] As a result, the social distinction was replaced by a monetary one; the cricket terms of "gentleman" and "player" were soon to be replaced by "amateur" and "professional".

Sport in Canada seems to have followed a similar course. "Professionalism", once held in universal disregard, has proceeded to the point where the professional, more popularly known as the "pro", is considered by many to be worthy of emulation. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to trace, in a historical fashion, the rise of "professionalism" in Canadian sporting life, with particular emphasis to be placed upon the changing concept of "professionalism".

Need For The Study

Scholarly investigation regarding the professional athlete has been neglected. Writers and investigators have preferred to write of the amateur primarily, the professional incidentally. Even today, with 64 sports governing bodies in Canada,[21] only four define a "professional", yet almost all legislate against him. The Canadian Horse Shows Association, the Canadian Lacrosse Association and the Canadian Motorcycle Association each define a "professional" in monetary terms. The Canadian Amateur Hockey Association defines a "professional" in the following manner: "A player shall be considered a professional only when the NHL notifies the CAHA that such a player has signed a standard player's contract or has agreed in writing to the terms of a contract with a professional hockey club."[22]

It is hoped that one result of this study will be a meaningful definition of a professional in Canadian sporting life.

A further need for study in this area also resides in current contradictions between capitalist and socialist countries regarding "amateurism" and "professionalism". The U.S.S.R., for example, maintains that there are no "amateurs" or "professionals" in the Soviet Union. There are only "athletes". For international purposes then, these athletes are characterized as "amateur".

Methods and Procedures

The methods and procedures undertaken in this study will be essentially those of historical research. Emphasis will be placed upon primary source material such as interviews, periodical and newspaper coverage of the times, minutes of meetings, contracts and other similarly relevant sources.

It is intended to divide the study into three distinct periods: A. Prior to 1883; B. 1884-1932; C. 1933-1972. These periods are chosen because in the opinion of the writer, they best serve as terminal points in the development of professionalism. Prior to 1883, it is submitted that professionalism was thought of in terms of social status, with competition being common between "professionals" and "non-professionals". From 1884 to 1932, the professional athlete was thought of in terms of money. It appears that from 1933 to the present, the professional athlete has been gaining a new image, one worthy of emulation. In fact, at the present time, it is submitted that the status of the professional athlete in Canada is very high indeed; so high that only recently the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, with the backing of the Government of Canada through Hockey Canada, withdrew the Canadian hockey team from the 1970 World Hockey Tournament, to have been played in Canada because professional players could not be used. This in itself appears to be justification that a study of the rise of professionalism takes place.

Limitations

While there are the basic limitations of an historical study, that is, time and the accessibility of relevent material, it is felt that the basic limitation of the study will be that of the writer's ability to interpret relevant material in order to form a concept of professionalism in keeping with the time under investigation.

Delimitations

The following delimitations will apply to this study:

1. Rather than investigate all sports to see whether professionalism existed therein, this inquiry will proceed in such a way as to investigate all mention of professionalism. The effect, therefore, will be to draw from each of the various sports information which will allow the writer to trace the rise and changing concept of professionalism.
2. The starting date of the study will be 1867, the birthdate of the nation.
3. Amateur organizations will be investigated only insofar as they appear to be necessary to the study.

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

[1] E.N. Gardiner, Athletics Of The Ancient World. London: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 98.

[2] Dr. J. Powell, "Professionalism". A Lecture given to the Physical Education class at McMaster University, Spring, 1967.

[3] L. Sawula, "Physical Activities Of The Etruscans". Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, University of Alberta, Spring, 1969.

[4] H.A. Harris, Greek Athletes and Athletics. London: Hutchinson and Company, 1964, p. 74.

[5] T. Woody, "Professionalism And The Decay of Greek Athletics". School And Society, Vol. 47, April 23, 1938.

[6] Ibid., p. 3.

[7] Gardiner, op. cit., p. 101.

[8] Ibid., p. 102.

[9] Harry Vassall, Football: The Rugby Game. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1890, p. 45.

[10] Gardiner, op. cit., p. 103.

[11] Peter McIntosh, Sport In Society. London: C.A. Watts and Co., 1968, p. 7.

[12] Ibid.

[13] J.G. Dixon, P.C. McIntosh, A.D. Munrow, R.F. Willets, Landmarks in The History Of Physical Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 63.

[14] McIntosh, op. cit., p. 178

[15] Encyclopedia Brittanica, 1968, p. 707.

[16] Dixon, McIntosh, op. cit., p. 63.

[17] Encyclopedia Britannica, op. cit.

[18] Hylton Cleaver, *A History of Rowing*. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1957, p. 122.

[19] "The Amateurs". *The Tomahawk*, December 5, 1868, p. 249.

[20] McIntosh, *Sport In Society*, p. 179.

[21] Department of National Health and Welfare, List of Jan. 23, 1970.

[22] Gordon Juckes, Letter To the Writer, February 2, 1970.

PART ONE

THE MOSAIC OF PROFESSIONALISM

1867-1883

I

THE BRITISH HERITAGE

On that first Monday morning of July 1867, "a gladsome midsummer morn", a new nationality took its place among the nations of the world.[1] It was a unique experiment. Two distinct cultures, nourished for over one hundred years by Great Britain were given the opportunity to develop as a unique and separate entity.

And yet it must be stated that Confederation did not change the character or outlook of the new Dominion overnight. The "imprint of Britain"[2] still made its mark on everyday life.

> Britons were interested in all sports; they had established a host of periodicals; they brought grace and splendour into ceremonials . . . they stood for precise standards and definitive codes of conduct; they created an image of the gentleman as arbitor and leader. The Canadian professions conformed to the British models and even quite minor deviations from the British norm became suspect . . . . The respect for British precedents was by no means imposed. (They) were accepted willingly and even slavishly by Canadians.[3]

It is in the area of sports that these British "precedents" should be examined since a very definite connection existed between sport in England and the institution of the British Public School. Although the term "Public

School" was first used in the latter part of the twelfth century, it was not officially defined until 1942. McIntosh is of the opinion that it was an "endowed non-local school for the upper classes."[4] This was not always so. "The transformation of the schools for the education of the ruling classes was gradual . . . (and) by the beginning of the nineteenth century it was complete."[5]

By the end of the eighteenth century, cricket and boating together with hunting, poaching and riding were accepted pastimes at the Public Schools.[6] These were considered to be gentlemanly sports. Football was also indulged in but was considered to be "more fit for farm boys and labourers than for young gentlemen."[7] An old Etonion wrote in 1831 that he could not "consider the game of football as being gentlemanly; after all, the Yorkshire common people play at it."[8]

Two features of British life immediately become evident from these statements: an elite class of people existed in England; there were certain sporting pursuits which were suited to them.

In time, a "games cult" developed in the Public Schools. In general, these games were such that no effort was made to introduce and develop a great deal of skill. Nor were extremely balanced competitions sought after. Games were considered to be a reflection of and a preparation for life wherein the unexpected could take place and one might have to cope with overwhelming odds. Skill on the field was not desired (not by the Masters at any rate). The belief existed that if one could cope with unexpected turn of events on the cricket field, one could react to an unexpected turn of events in a military operation; if one could be exposed to the benefits of teamwork in sport, one could use this to good effect in the Colonial Offices. Public School education was of a general nature; the aim was to prepare one for entry into life whether it be the clergy, the military, or the civil service.

Much of this seemed to change, however, as the emerging middle class gained access in ever increasing numbers to the Public Schools. Within a brief span of fifteen years, from 1860 to 1875, the gospel of athletics was spread and

> . . . the rules of association football, rugby football and hockey had been evolved. Boxing had been dressed in respectable clothes. Athletic and swimming competitions were first organized in their modern forms. Lawn Tennis was introduced to the world and Polo was re-introduced. Minor sports such as Badminton, Court Tennis, Squash Racquets, Fives and Croquet all went through a new phase of organization and re-organization. The unscaled peaks of the Alps were climbed by the first wave of British Mountaineers and international athletic competition had begun. It was a sporting revolution and the revolutionaries were young graduates of the English Public Schools and Universities.[9]

There was a new mania for sport. Previously, the province of a small elite, education and technology had combined to give it a wider appeal. And yet, it seemed necessary to maintain the previously accepted style of life. The imposition of restrictions seemed to be in order. After all, "in the history of Europe, the sports of those who were politically powerful and socially privileged were usually clearly distinguished from the sports of the rest of the population."[10] It is necessary to go back only to the Renaissance period to see that humanists distinguished between noble and ignoble sports. A fifteenth century account of the Florentine game of Calcio included the regulation:

> . . . moreover, even as every kind of man was not admitted to the Olympic games, but only men of standing in their native cities and kingdoms, so, in Calcio, all kinds of rascallions are not to be tolerated, neither artificiers, servants nor low born fellows, but honourable soldiers, gentlemen, lords and princes.[11]

Not only Florentine football dictated a social distinction. It was generally agreed by writers of the time that some pastimes were worthy of aristocratic pursuit while others were not. Not all writers agreed on which were worthy and which were not but the essential point is that it was agreed that some were acceptable and others not.[12] Yet, because these distinctions were made, it should not be assumed that upper and lower classes did not occasionally participate together.

One of the most famous examples of social intermingling occurred in 1682 when James II, then the Duke of York, agreed to choose any Scottish partner he wished against two English noblemen in order to settle a dispute. John Patersone, a Leith shoemaker, aided his future monarch in the victory of this first international golf match. In so doing, he shared equally in the substantial sums wagered.[13]

And so, while basically it has been stated that throughout history there has been one group of sports for the rich and another for the poor,[14] it has also been pointed out that there were occasions when a sport or a pastime would broach social differences. Gradually, the upper and lower classes "began to play together with steadily decreasing regard for strictly class differences."[15] Cricket, for example, grew in popularity during the nineteenth century.

> One of the strongest and certainly the oddest of reasons for its acceptance in Victorian England was its adoption of the type of social compromise which that age esteemed so highly. While cricket so far surmounted class barriers that the gentlemen amateurs took the field side by side with working class professionals, the distinction between the two was emphasized by the major match of the season -- between 'Gentlemen and Players'.[16]

It is interesting to note that these regularly scheduled cricket meetings between Gentlemen and Players first made their appearance in 1806, only a short time after the word amateur was used in reference to a sporting event in England. The word "amateur" is derived from the Latin amare which means to love. It appears to have been first used in France during the reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715). It signified a connoisseur of the fine arts. First used in Britain in 1784, it signified one who was fond of the "polite" arts of painting and music. English gentlemen of the nineteenth century were encouraged to engage in pursuits which were "polite" as opposed to "impolite".[17] The equation between "gentlemen" and "amateurs" appears to have been made by 1801, particularly in reference to sport. It was at a prize fight in England, in 1801, that ringside spectators were described as "gentlemen-amateurs".[18]

It is not necessary to go into a detailed analysis of the origin of the term gentleman. It is sufficient to say that the term refers to one who is "noble by origin".[19] Its connotation is reinforced by the implication that the gentleman is well bred and well mannered. However, it is important for our purposes to investigate somewhat more closely these annual cricket games, previously referred to in order to establish the connection between "Gentleman" and "Players".

> Gentleman-amateur had a social and class distinction like the term "gentleman commoner" which was used at Oxford and Cambridge colleges to distinguish between certain undergraduates from other socially inferior students who were simply "commoners" or scholars. In cricket, the term "gentleman" was by itself sufficient to distinguish the upper class from the professional or "players".[20]

There is no question that the "players" referred to were employees, i.e. groundskeepers and perhaps equipment makers, of the various county cricket clubs. As such they had a reasonable amount of time on their hands as well as readily available facilities. "Many acquired a degree of skill far beyond that of their employers. Hence in the early days of championships, separate events were established for these men, for whom we may use the term 'groundsmen professionals'."[21] It is always difficult to understand why the fact of the acquisition of skill by this group meant that it was undesirable that competitions between these two classes were discouraged by barriers. Although such competitions did take place in cricket, this was the exception. The reasoning behind the exception lay rooted in the peculiarity of the game. Cricket in the nineteenth century was such that a match could last up to five days duration. The sport obviously catered to the wealthy -- people who had much leisure time available. The cricketer then had the time available and was able to spend as much time developing his skills as did the hired man. The hired man on occasion would be retained to instruct less able amateurs in the arts of the game. Hence arose another category -- "instructor professionals".[22]

There was also another concept of professionalism developing in nineteenth century Britain which eventually was felt in Canada. Just as in some cities of Canada, the taxi is one of the quickest ways to travel from one part of the city to another, so too in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain. The equivalent of our taxi was the boat. This large body of watermen, as the water "taxi drivers" were called, would occasionally hold regattas in order to determine the fastest rower. "The oldest sporting event in Britain is a sculling race for apprentice watermen, Doggett's Coat And Badge, first held in 1715."[23]

When, gradually, the work of rowing became an amusement for the students of the schools and universities of England, "it was felt that these youngsters could not fairly be expected to compete against men for whom rowing was a full time occupation, and so watermen were excluded from their regattas . . . . There was a similar class of professional runners, employed to carry messages quickly about London. These watermen and footmen may be called 'work professionals'."[23]

One of the major problems in attempting to understand the evolution of such a concept is to differentiate between the restrictions being imposed as a means of segregating people of dissimilar skills or whether the basis is one of class. A case can be made quite convincingly for either one. The example is best served by looking at the sport of rowing. The example of the waterman's influence has been given. When the sport of rowing developed and the Henley Regatta assumed some prominence, it transpired that the Regatta committee laid down the regulation "that no person should be considered an amateur oarsman who was or had been by trade or employment for wages a mechanic, artisan or labourer."[24] Thus the researcher is faced with the dilemma of attempting to resolve whether the regulation was one of social snobbery or whether its roots lay in the notion that somebody who partook of manual labour, presently or formerly, had an inherent strength advantage over the sedentary gentleman.

And so, while the growth of sport in the 19th century was such that it was available to many, it is evident that the distinguishing feature of the professional in Britain by 1867 was that he was a "working man", a threat, who could dominate sport to the extent that the amateurs would be discouraged and drop the sport as the ancients were thought to have done.

Perhaps it was this threat to the gentlemanly class that also led to their being "clubable -- a word much used to describe those of greatly varied interest and status, who felt strongly the need for companionship with their own kind."[25] Clubs had appeared in London, England as early as 1693 with conversation and congeniality and comfort being basic requirements. Gaming was considered to be "undoubtedly a very important feature of the early clubs and in many cases, their avowed reason for existence."[26]

As in sport, the emerging middle class patterned itself after the elite. They congregated at the taverns and ale-houses, the meeting places for the "more dissolute sort of barristers, attorneys and tradesmen of what were then called the better sort, but no one who wore a decent coat was excluded."[27] The result was the formation of more clubs, the emphasis being on conviviality or based on a common interest such as a sport, trade or amusement such as card playing. The one other variable common to all who could join a club at this time was, of course, time available.

Gambling was as much a feature of these clubs as was any other focal points. Stakes were common in matches of all kinds as were bets and money prizes. During this time period, there was no suggestion that the winning of money had any debilitating effect, nor did it have anything to do with the determining of one's status as a professional in sport. More will be said about this latter point below.

If such was the case in Britain prior to 1867, it was only natural that Canada, a British colony, would mirror the motherland. The major sporting works[28] of this period certainly bear this out. The growth of sport in Canada owed much of its success to the garrisons, the officers being members of the upper classes and in most cases, Public School graduates with an exposure to the traditional British sports.

In Canada, as in Britain, it was only natural that sport was the prerogative of those with time available. Thus the garrisons along with the landlord or the financially independent, led the way in the development of sport. While technology was such that travel was restrictive and hours of labour were long as well as necessary, the working classes posed no threat in reference to infringing upon the games and pastimes of the upper classes. They did become a "threat" however, as the shorter hours movement attained some success and transportation improved so as to allow for increased time for recreational pursuits.

There seems to have been a problem in Canada, almost from the beginning of British colonization, ensuring that people knew their appropriate "place" in society. Susanna Moodie stated that the Scottish artisans and labourers were different people the moment their ship arrived in the New World. During the long journey, they behaved according to their station; once disembarking they were "infected with the spirit of insubordination and misrule."[29] It was in this atmosphere that "traditional behaviour tended to go by the board."[30]

Whether this was a contributing factor to the growth of clubs of people having like interests is debatable but it is certain that early in the nineteenth century, segments of the Canadian society became "clubable". It is certain, too, that these clubs, for the most part, were socially oriented to people of like interests and rank in life.

One of the earliest clubs combining sport and socialization was the Montreal Curling Club, founded in 1807. Among its rules was one that it meet "every fortnight at 4 o'clock to dine on salt beef and greens . . . and the club dinner and events shall not exceed 7s. 6d. a head."[31] The fox hunt has traditionally been associated with the upper class. Even in Upper Canada in the pioneer times of the early nineteenth century, the chase "was followed by a number of gentlemen on horseback and a concourse of the beau monde of both sexes in cariole and sleigh."[32] The Quebec Tandem Club consisted of many of the leading citizens with about half of its members being officers of the garrisons.[33] Racing, traditionally known as "the sport of kings", attempted to maintain this image in the new land. Meets which had been held on the Plains of Abraham were moved a distance to Ancien Lorette so as to avoid the "rowdy element".[34] The move appears to have been successful for it was later reported that the course at Lorette had the advantage of "keeping away certain classes of the labouring population, thus avoiding disturbances."[35] Horseracing officials continually made efforts to preserve their events for the upper classes, new course being built surrounded with fences. However "since the working class could climb as well as drink, this move was not completely successful."[36]

There was, of course, very little necessity to impose restrictions upon those who could compete in organized sport in the period prior to confederation. The majority of games had not been codified in Great Britain. If a game were codified, only the wealthy had sufficient time to play it since the "working man" laboured from dawn to darkness.[37] Not only that, he had to belong to a club in order to participate and if the club travelled to another city, he was effectively barred from competing since he could not be absent from his employ.

As the years progressed towards confederation, and certainly more so as the union drifted into the past, there was an increasingly greater amount of time available as a result of improvements in transportation. The steamboat introduced into Canada in 1809, served effectively to diminish distances. A rise in intercity competition preceded an increasing number of international contests, hastening the development of representative sport. While the growth of organizations such as the YMCA and the Mechanic's Institute served to act as a source of edification to the working man with his newly expanding amount of leisure time, the area of sport seems to have provided another outlet for his expression. It was only natural that problems would arise from the evolving of the new society. It was to be no longer "self-evident" to each and every one, his "place" in society. If this was generally true, it was certainly so in the field of sport. Old concepts had to be clothed anew. What was previously understood had to be spelled out.

Class And The Professional

> While in England the notion of class differences, their clash and particularly their alteration in new economic and political circumstances have provided one of the principal themes of literature, in Canada, its place has been taken by a consciousness of religious and racial difference.[37]

Since, by virtue of the conquest of 1759, Canada became an English colony, the French became concerned with preserving their language, customs and culture. There was not the inclination on the part of the French to join the English clubs and partake of their sports since the Frenchman had to be continually on guard against being assimilated into the English culture and thus losing his own. He was more content to work at his farming or trade and mingle with his own kind.

Of the other non-English groups in Canada, the most prominent on the athletic fields seemed to be the Indian, Irish, Scots and Negro. Initially, these groups had a number of factors in common. Firstly, they were outside of the influence and decision making groups; they were in the majority of cases, manual labourers; and finally, they were among the first to be characterized as professionals in athletic events.

As early as 1835, in Canada, at the formation of a new turf club at Niagara, the racing program was announced with the enjoinder that ". . . no black shall be permitted to ride on any pretext whatsoever."[38] The implication is obvious. Racing was an aristocratic sport and as such, a gentleman's pursuit; it was certainly not to be indulged in by a member of the lower classes. While the reason for the ban was not given, a number of questions are brought to mind. Was the prohibition based on race? Was the young black a slave? a servant? Was he a stable boy or groom, who, because of his training, stood a good chance of defeating his "betters"? Was he simply a manual labourer and because of this, barred from competing with the "gentleman-amateurs"?

As the century progressed, some of these questions were seemingly answered. At the Toronto Regatta, in 1863, a negro, Berry, lined up for the start of the championship race. The other competitors refused to start. The race was postponed for one day, Berry being denied the opportunity to compete.[39] Although Berry's name was given as William, it is probable that he was the Berry referred to as "Bob" or "Black Bob". Newspapers seemed to delight in giving him a variety of epithets, referring to him as the "coloured giant" or the "western Canadian of African descent."[40] Berry was a waterman in Toronto and after his unsuccessful attempt to enter the Toronto Regatta in 1863, he tried again in 1867. Again, it was stated explicitly: "Coloured are barred from the Toronto Regatta."[41] In 1867, however, the discrimination resulted in a letter to the editor deploring the situation. Berry was allowed to enter the Regatta of 1868, the field including the favourite, Tinning, along with Louden and Johnson and Roes from Montreal as well as "Berry (a coloured man) . . . a powerful brawny fellow with endurance supposed to be almost unlimited."[42]

Berry surprised all, won and was declared champion of Toronto. He was subsequently challenged by Tom Louden to a two mile race for a purse of $50. Berry won this race too but Louden complained that the former had turned the wrong way. It was rowed again and, once more, Berry was the winner.[43]

Berry continued to row successfully, usually for money challenges. He was beaten by R.H. Haycock in the Toronto Regatta of 1869, thus losing the championship he held for one year. He continued to be much in demand, however, and in 1870, travelled to Lachine for its regatta. While there, he defeated a "young English amateur named Watts, the latter who came with some London reputation and was backed by all the knowing ones and had the benefit of Renforth's boat."[44] Thus it can be seen that there was certainly no distinction in rowing between amateurs and professionals at this time. This being the case, the early barring of the negro in sporting events was in all likelihood based on a manifestation of class or race bias.

However much the discrimination against the negro in Canada, it was far behind that of one group, the North American Indian. Early in Canada's history there is evidence to show that white missionaries, voyageurs or coureur-de-bois competed occasionally in athletic events against the Indian. There was always the possibility of gaining a convert or a fur in the process. Yet, as early as 1808, foot-races were held in which Indians competed separate from "Canadians".[45] It's highly probable that the reasoning lay in the fact that the Indian would defeat the white man. We can only surmise that it was believed that the Indian by virtue of his hunting, trapping and general style of life was more hardy and therefore had an advantage over his "civilized" neighbour. It may have been, however, that it was not viewed as desirable to allow this lower classes member of the Canadian society the opportunity to defeat his "betters".

In the sport of snowshoeing, popular during the nineteenth century and, of course, originally an Indian means of transportation, a number of classifications became evident when various clubs held meets. Usually, the program consisted of races for Indians, open races, and races for members. The races for Indians were for money prizes and open to whites. The "open" races, however, were understood to be closed to Indians.[46] As will be discussed later, amateurs often competed for money prizes with no stigma attached. It's highly likely that the restrictions on the Indian were based on a combination of class as well as skill. For example, when it was belatedly discovered that the Indian, Keraronwe, entered a one mile snowshoe race hosted by the Montreal Showshoe Club, "the result was looked upon as a certainty, an expectation fully realized as he never gave any of them a chance winning easily in 6:49."[47]

Probably because of their skill, the Indians were used extensively by snowshoe clubs as drawing cards for their programs. When the Alexandra Club announced its program for February 28, 1869, it was announced that races were open to all except members of the Montreal Club, they being excepted because of their skill. The "Indian Race" prizes were described as being "interesting in that they also have added incentives. The two mile Indian race first prize is $15, the second $5 and $5 extra added if the first mile is done under five minutes and fifty seconds and $10 if the two miles are done under twelve minutes and thirty seconds."[48] The same article noted "some dissatisfaction at the Indians being allowed to enter the dash and the quarter mile."[49]

It was in 1873, that two Indians, Keraronwe and Thomas, caused a stir when they decided to enter the eighth race of the Maple Leaf Snowshoe Club competition. It had been listed as a two mile open for a cup to be presented by his worship, the mayor.

> This race was attended with unusual excitement. Several indians, among them Keraronwe, appeared at the starting post and declared their intention of running, notwithstanding the earnest protests of white runners and the positive declarations of the officers of the club that they could not run. The whites who had entered were Farmer and Boyle. The friends of the former had him backed to a considerable amount and their indignation and anxiety were very great when they discovered the red man at the scratch. Sympathy was, however, with the indians and the general opinion of those present and who were anxious to see a good race was that there was nothing to prevent the indians from running.[50]

The race did start, although at one stage during the first lap, "as the indians approached, a crowd of persons blocked up the track with the determination of stopping them. The police, however, cleared the track and the racers went on."[51] Peter Thomas, an Indian, won the race. His victory was protested by the whites. Ten days later, it was decided by a group of officials from other snowshoes clubs, that since the race was advertised with no proviso, all entries were treated as equal. They further ruled that the fact that the race was for a cup was insignificant since there was no proviso. In other words, Indians were entitled to compete for cups as well as money prizes.[52]

And so, what was previously an unwritten understanding became written by necessity. Previous to this the Indian athlete "knew his place" in Canadian society. Along with other working members of society, time was becoming more available and therefore sport was becoming more accessible. As a result of the above mentioned race, the board of judges ruled that Indians were allowed to enter events specifically listed as Indian races or 'open races' with no proviso. This was but the opening attempt at the written legislation which was eventually to declare the Indian athlete as a professional. "More than likely this was not a racial issue but merely a provision which allowed white competitors to win events."[53] The result was that "Indian competitors either lost interest in the sport or were discouraged from competing."[54]

It was in the game of Lacrosse, however, that the Indian's skill led to his being declared a "professional". Lacrosse, derived from the ancient Indian game of baggataway, was eventually introduced to, and nurtured by, the white man. By 1866, a group of young men from Montreal felt so proficient at the game that they challenged the Chaughnawaga Indian team for what was "proclaimed as the 'Championship of Canada', once again the Indians proving their superiority as players."[55] Lacrosse continued to grow in Canada, and George Beers, a Montreal dentist, was largely responsible for the game being known, somewhat mistakenly, as Canada's "National Game". Prior to the formation of the National Lacrosse Association of Canada on September 26, 1867,[56] 5,000 spectators watched the Caughnawaga team defeat the Montreal club. The latter was stylishly dressed for the occasion wearing white jackets with red cuffs, grey knickerbockers with red cord and black stockings.[57] It was later in that year that a trophy, the Claxton Flags, was presented to the Montreal Club "as the acknowledged champions of the game."[58] Indians were effectively barred from competing for the Claxton trophy since it was designated for "amateur" competition, in this case, white teams. The myth that Indians always played for money and were therefore characterized as professionals, was beginning to develop.

The Lacrosse Convention of 1880, held in Toronto, did much to perpetuate that myth. On June 4, 1880, the word "amateur" was inserted into the title of the National Association. The press of the day referred to it as the Amateur Lacrosse Association of Canada. The next move was to rank the Indian athletes as professionals saying that clubs "might employ Indians to act as trainers or for the purpose of playing exhibition matches."[59] The convention went on to state that any member who had competed for money in any public contests, Caledonian or otherwise, should be ruled out as a member of any club. It was further stipulated that "no club in the association should play for money, either directly or indirectly."[60]

It appears, then, that the injunction was hitting out into two areas, racial, as it applied to the Indian, and also linking up the notion of money with professional. The Indian was supposedly classified as a professional because he had played for money in the past (as had many whites).

In other words, whether an Indian had ever before played lacrosse, or, had in fact never competed in a sport, he, by virtue of the fact that he was an Indian, was declared a professional. He was thus barred from playing with the whites he had so often shown to be inferior lacrosse players. Whether the prohibition was made on the basis of race bias or on the basis of skill classification is debatable. There seems to be much information on either side.

While more will be written below of the growing association between the "professional" and money, it should be mentioned that at least two other non-English groups ran afoul of the English concept of amateurism. Again, money is cited as the indicator of their professionalism. Again, a case could be made for skill and class background being the real determining feature. The two groups were the Irish and the Scottish.

Much of the animosity directed to the Irish was in the game of lacrosse which, during the post-confederation period, was becoming increasingly popular. The lacrosse clubs themselves were indicative of the predominate ethnic and religious groups in the growing country. The Montreal Lacrosse Club was English and Scottish, the Montreal Shamrocks Irish and Catholic, the Toronto Club Irish and Protestant. In addition to the numerous indian teams, a French speaking club, Le Nationale, was formed (in the nineties) in Montreal intensifying the racial issues."[61]

The two Montreal clubs were rivals from early times, alternating as champions from 1868 to 1875. An attempt "to arrange a regular schedule for the season was made in 1876",[62] the Shamrocks playing seventeen games that season. One of the seventeen was played in Toronto versus the Toronto Lacrosse Club before 8,000 spectators. The two Irish teams continued to do battle in 1877, but more in the committee rooms than on the playing field. A proposed match between the two clubs was cancelled by the Toronto Club because the Shamrocks intended to use a player who had been released from jail only a day or two prior to the match. When the two captains met at the centre of the field prior to the game, it was stated that the Torontos could not play "unless the obnoxious player was replaced."[63] The Shamrocks refused to compete without their man Burke and claimed the championship when the Torontos left the field after refusing to play. The protest by the Torontos was made to the National Lacrosse Association which, after having sat until 3 a.m., decided in favor of the Shamrocks. The defeat of the Toronto protest (35-13) was responsible for a letter from the Tecumseh Lacrosse Club being sent to the editor of the Toronto Mail. The writer stated that "the vote, which has caused so much interest, has taken the championship from a gentleman twelve and given it to a professional twelve."[64]

It was because of this "professional twelve" that the Montreal Lacrosse Club opted to drop out of the National Association in 1879. It should be mentioned at this point that the Shamrock Club had played matches against Indian teams for $450 and $500 purses[65] without the cry of "professional twelve" being raised. By 1880, though, as shown by the National Lacrosse Association meeting of that year, money was exerting its influence as the determining factor in deciding one's amateur or professional athletic status. The Association, having declared that Indians would be barred along with clubs that played directly or indirectly for money, extended an invitation to the Montreal Lacrosse Club to rejoin "now that the Association has been purged of professionalism."[66]

The Montreal Club refused to join the association and further, refused to meet the Shamrock team in tournament play, insisting that the latter were professional. The situation had been compounded when some of the Shamrocks had entered track competitions "at a picnic for a five dollar bill and tested their strength with a professional runner." The Shamrocks couldn't understand how such a person could be "styled a professional lacrosse player."[67] This seems to have signaled a change in emphasis whereby the concept of professionalism, rather than being restricted to one particular activity was now portable. In other words it was the money that was the professionalizing agent rather than the activity. Shortly after the aborted tournament it was announced that the Echo Lacrosse Club of Hamilton, which was formerly known as the Shamrocks, was branded professional for playing lacrosse at Paris for ten dollars.[68]

While some lauded the steadfastness of the Montreal Lacrosse Club for refusing to join the Association in 1881, others saw their refusal as somewhat ambivalent. The dissenting team had occasionally played exhibition games with the Shamrocks, each team dividing the gate receipts. Following the announcement of one such game, it was stated:

> . . . according to the latest advice from Montreal, the Shamrocks and Montrealers are going to play a return match tomorrow on the grounds of the latter. We understand that the reason the Montrealers give for not joining the Association is that they don't care to associate with the Shamrock element in it. If this is correct and the statement is made on the authority of some of their principal officers, it seems strange that they should be willing to play and divide the gate money with a club they don't think good enough to meet in the association. If they are good enough to go halves with in money affairs, they surely can't be very much worse when their delegates are met in the Association. Consistency? Thou art a jewel![69]

The Montreal Club not only played exhibition games with the Shamrocks, they did likewise with various Indian teams. The "prize" in each case was a share of the gate receipts. The whole situation was becoming much akin to the English situation of Gentlemen and Players. The major difference was that in England one knew his place in society; in Canada, it was more and more apparent as the nineteenth century progressed that some arbitrary decision had to be made so as to ensure that at least one knew his place in sport society.

With respect to the Scots, it was their Caledonia Games which contributed to a desire for control over sport on the part of "amateur" authorities. These games were popular in Canada since they were first held in 1856.[70] It was not, however, until the post-confederation period that their rapid proliferation caused some to speak out against them as a possible source of professionalism. The matter of gate receipts and the problems associated with sharing of them was to lead to the formulation of new restrictions on participants in these competitions.

The Scots, through their various groups such as the St. Andrew's Society and Thistle Clubs, promoted these highland gatherings. They were opportunities for the clans to gather and compete with one another in various events. It was very common for the athletic competitions to carry money prizes, the first Canadian games in Montreal "averaging six dollars"[71] for the twelve events. As each Scottish community in Canada initiated its own local exhibition, the fairs seemed to vie with one another for the attention of the public. It appeared necessary to highlight some sort of an attraction. In many cases, athletic competitions filled that need:

> . . . the entries for those games are numerous and varied. Being open to all comers, without respect to country or colour, many noted athletes are expected to be present. Among the entries for the mile race are two Indians named Simon Peters and Eli Patterson from the state of New York. They have a great reputation, having carried everything. The palefaces will have to be on their mettle at the Crystal Palace grounds otherwise some valuable prizes and trophies may be hung up in the wigwam in the forest next winter.[72]

The popular term for describing the practise of going from meet to meet and competing for prizes was "hippodroming". It's probable that the name was derived from the implication that a circuit of events existed whereby an individual could, in effect, by careful planning, be able to travel from competition to competition. In the process he would earn his way and encourage gambling. The whole process was likened to the horse races. In the "amateur" clubs of the time, it was popular opinion that "the tendency to have hippodrome contests should be suppressed with a firm hand as injuring the reputation of the contestants and extending to bring contests of skill and strength into disrepute."[73]

As previously mentioned, the Lacrosse Convention of 1880 actually designated the Caledonian games a competition to be avoided because of the awarding of money prizes to the winners. By 1881, the majority of events at the Scottish meetings were described as "being professional".[74] However, it was also claimed that it should not be classified as "a professional gathering in so far as its profits do not go to individual professionals or to a body of professionals, but towards the funds of a society having benevolence for its object and controlled and composed of gentlemen."[75] Interesting enough, this seems to illustrate that while money was becoming a criterion for professionalism, as will be discussed below, the destination of the funds collected as a result of gate receipts had a bearing on one's professional status as well.

It was in 1883, that the controversy over hippodroming and pedestrianism, long distance running, came to the fore. It had always been a fear of meet organizers that competitors would mislead the public by plotting with each other to decide the outcome in advance. In this way the competitors were able to effect a betting coup against an unsuspecting public. In that year, their worst fears were realized. Hippodroming, pedestrianism, dishonesty, professionalism and the Caledonian games were all linked together. The Toronto Mail published for the first time a series of letters between two well known athletes, E.W. Johnston and R.N. Harrison.[76] The correspondence confirmed that some events had been "sold". When it was further stated that Johnson was planning to compete at the London Caledonian games, the public's acceptance of the games started to decline. Confidence in the integrity of the "professional", which had never been high to start with, was definitely on the wane. Even the career of the great Ned Hanlan was being questioned in some quarters. By 1883, the connotation of professional was linked with money. It was an evolutionary involvement, one which seemed to provide a quick and workable distinction.

FOOTNOTES TO PART ONE, I.

[1] *Toronto Globe*, July 1, 1867.

[2] G.R. Stevens, *The Incompleat Canadian*. Privately published by the author in 1965, p. 158.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Peter C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England Since 1800*. London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1968, p. 17.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 19.

[6] *Ibid*., p. 23.

[7] *Ibid*., p. 25.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] Philip Goodhart and Chris Chataway, *War Without Weapons*. London: W.H. Allen, 1968, p. 32.

[10] P.C. McIntosh, *Sport in Society*. London: C.A. Watts & Co. Ltd., 1968, p. 7.

[11] P.C. McIntosh, J.G. Dixon, A.D. Munrow, R.F. Willetts, *Landmarks in The History of Physical Education*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 63.

[12] *Ibid*.

[13] Goodhart, *op. cit*., p. 45.

[14] Joseph Strutt in his Sports And Pastimes Of The People Of England (1801) makes his first division between Rural Exercises Practiced by Persons of Rank and Those generally Practised. The rich with horses, firearms, servants, land and leisure, could indulge in hunting and shooting as the poor could not do, barred as they were, not only by lack of equipment, land and leisure but also in many cases by law" cited in John Arlott and Arthur Daley, *Pageantry of Sport*. London: Paul Elek Prod., 1968, p. 14.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 17.

[16] *Ibid*., p. 53.

[17] Peter C. McIntosh, Sport In Society, p. 78.

[18] Encyclopedia Britannica, 1968, p. 707.

[19] An excellent article in describing the etymological development of the term is the one by John D. Champlin Jr. "Who is a Gentleman?" New England Historical And Genealogical Register. Boston: N.P. April, 1880, pp. 154-8.

[20] P.C. McIntosh, Sport in Society, op. cit., p. 178.

[21] H.A. Harris, "Amateur And Professional In Greek And Roman Sport". Unpublished paper delivered to the Second World Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, Banff, Alberta, 1971, p. 3.

[22] Ibid., p. 2.

[23] Ibid.

[24] McIntosh, Sport In Society, op. cit., p. 179.

[25] R.J. Mitchell and M.D.R. Leys, A History of London Life. Suffolk: Chaucer Press, 1968, p. 259.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., p. 262.

[28] Nancy and Max Howell, Sport And Games in Canadian Life. Toronto: Macmillan and Co., 1969. Peter Lindsay, "Sports in Canada, 1807-1867". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969.

[29] Susanna Moodie, Roughing It In The Bush. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967, p. 25.

[30] G.R. Stevens, The Incompleat Canadian. N.P. 1965, p. 51.

[31] Howell, op. cit., p. 30.

[32] Ibid., p. 21.

[33] Ibid., p. 24.

[34] Montreal Gazette, September 1, 1847.

[35] Quebec Morning Chronicle, August 14, 1856.

[36] Peter Lindsay, "Sport in Canada, 1807-1867". A paper presented to the First Canadian Symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education held at the University of Alberta, May 13-16, 1970.

[37] For a review of the early closing movement and its effect on sport, see Ian Jobling, Sport and Technology. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1970.

Arthur M. Lower, Canadians In The Making. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1958, p. 202.

[38] Montreal Gazette, June 6, 1835, cited in Peter Lindsay, "A History of Sport In Canada 1807-1867". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 199.

[39] Toronto Globe, October 17, 1863, cited in Lindsay, op. cit., p. 167.

[40] Toronto Daily Telegraph, August 15, 1870.

[41] Toronto Globe, August 14, 1867.

[42] Toronto Globe, August 6, 1868.

[43] Toronto Globe, August 15, 1868.

[44] Toronto Globe, September 15, 1870.

[45] Quebec Mercury, July 18, 1808, cited in Lindsay, op. cit., p. 138.

[46] Montreal Gazette, February 6, 1869.

[47] Ibid., February 22, 1869.

[48] Ibid., February 27, 1869.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., March 3, 1873.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Montreal Gazette, March 13, 1873.

[53] A.E. Cox, "A History of Sports in Canada", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 269.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

[55] *Montreal Gazette*, October 15, 1866, cited in Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[56] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[57] *Montreal Gazette*, July 4, 1867.

[58] *Ibid.*, November 1, 1867.

[59] *Toronto Mail*, September 13, 1875.

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[63] *Toronto Mail*, June 9, 1877.

[64] *Ibid.*, August 16, 1877.

[65] *Ibid.*, August 3, 1875.

[66] *Ibid.*, June 5, 1880.

[67] *Toronto Mail*, July 17, 1880.

[68] *Ibid.*, July 24, 1880.

[69] *Ibid.*, June 24, 1881.

[70] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] *Toronto Globe*, August 5, 1870.

[73] *Toronto Mail*, November 1, 1879.

[74] *Ibid.*, May 4, 1880.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] *Toronto Mail*, August 4, 1883.

II

AMATEURISM-MONEY-PROFESSIONALISM

> When a St. John crew won the fourth of July regatta in Boston in 1866, their training schedule of eighteen miles a day was regarded as excessive for amateurs, but no tags of professionalism were applied to them although money prizes were involved. Indeed, money prizes were offered in nearly all sports, and if this is a criterion in distinguishing amateur from professional, then most athletes of the day were professional.[1]

Lindsay's summary statement of his study reinforces the belief that money was, indeed, not a factor in determining one's status as a "professional" at the time of Confederation. While it is true that many "amateurs" preferred medals or cups to money for prizes, it should be recognized that "in the state of organization that existed, it was far easier to award small money prizes than to arrange for the purchase of trophies from a local merchant."[2] It should be further emphasized that "gentleman-amateurs certainly did not need money prizes, and would have much preferred something tangible to display on their trophy shelf where it might be admired by friends who called on the inevitable social visit."[3]

There was certainly no link between professionalism and money in the World Amateur Rowing Championships of 1867. Held on the Seine river in Paris, France, a crew from St. John's Western Boat Club, consisting of Robert Fulton, George Price, Sam Hutton and Elijha Ross, earned the epithet "the Paris Crew" by winning two events from an international field. They earned much more as well.

Their first race was won easily, Price waving to the spectators as the boat crossed the finish line in the in-rigged fours event. The prize was two thousand francs. The out-rigged fours was won even more easily and the St. John crew gained an additional one thousand francs.

It was noted that the St. John "New Brunswickers are not amateurs of the usual kind, being men to all appearance of much the same stamp as our English watermen."[4] The Paris crew were listed as bona-fide amateurs once they declared "that they rowed only as a pastime and not as a means of livelihood."[5] It should be pointed out that the concept of a professional in sport was certainly known. The term was used in 1863 to describe the hiring of a bowler for the Toronto Cricket Club. The move to hire the "professional" bowler was made after having experimented with a catapult or bowling machine.[6] The term was also used in Montreal in 1867. The Victoria Skating Club offered a championship Cup "valued $50 open to the world -- competitors not members of the Club to be formally introduced by a member -- professional skaters excluded."[7] It is interesting to speculate as to whom the injunction referred. It could have been meant for F. Perkins of Toronto who won a Gold Medal at Hamilton on February 28. The Hamilton *Times* declared that Perkins should be classed as a professional because of his ability, having won several championships in the past.[8] Perkins, however continued to compete as an "amateur" during March, thereby helping the Toronto Victorias defeat the Hamilton Victorias in a match, less than one week after the *Times*' objection. Two weeks later, he entered a competition in London and skated to another medal. He did not appear at the Montreal event, which at first glance might appear as if the prohibition was aimed at him. It is more probable that the enjoinder was aimed at the Meagher brothers who were professional skating entertainers visiting their home in Kingston, returning there "to give exhibitions of their talents for the first time."[9]

It is significant to note that the Montreal Victoria Cup competition "marked the first publicly announced restriction on entrants who were declared professional."[10] When one attempts to form reasons for the distinction, it is evident that it is made for the purpose of exclusivity of competition. The word "professional was being used to restrict the skilled performers who had entered, and won, too many competitions; performers who were proficient because they were "occupationals" in the particular skill that they were contesting or, possibly because they worked at a manual labor type job and as such were thought to enjoy a natural advantage. Whichever of the three, however, it is certain that money was not the distinguishing feature.

It is evident that if an event was to cater to a particular level of competition and skill, there had to be a satisfactory definition available to differentiate those skill levels. As long as those differences were easily defined no problem existed; it was when these differences were not so readily obvious that problems arose.

There was no quarrel, for example, with the St. John's New Brunswick boat crew of 1868. Neither identified as "amateurs" nor "professionals", their victory in an international boat race at Springfield, Massachusetts, in October of that year, caused the reporter to exude:

> The Paris Crew took $9,000 in greenbacks by their slashing victory in the six mile race for the championship of Springfield on Wednesday. Their names cannot too often be repeated: R. Fulton, E. Ross, S. Hutton and G. Price, champions not only of America but the whole world.[11]

Further evidence that money had no distinguishing character was obvious from information relating to the Toronto Regatta of 1869. After mentioning the possibility of the Paris Crew's competing at the Regatta, comment was made about the increasing popularity of rowing and the expectations of the "amateurs" of Toronto. The latter were defined as "men who were new to the use of the oar."[12] The fifth race was described as the "single skull outriggers for two miles open to amateurs who have never raced for public money. Entrance $3. Prize, a Cup or money of $25."[13]

Thus it can be seen that an "Amateur" was looked upon as a novice or one who, while he had competed for money, had not done so for public funds. The implication was, of course that it was acceptable to row for a wager or a private bet. The stigma was only attached if there was public knowledge or attendance involved. Perhaps the fear existed that in a public display, the temptation might present itself to partake of the unsavory influences of gambling, possibly to the extent of "arranging a match".

It is quite possible that amateurism, money and professionalism were all linked together as a result of definitions provided by the Schuylkill River Regatta of 1872. For that regatta, it was determined that "an amateur was one who rowed only for sport's sake; a professional was one who competed with the hope of a cash reward."[14]

It is interesting to note the developments which led up to this classification by the Schuylkill Navy and in effect the relationship which was developed between amateur and professional rowers. The word "amateur" had seldom been used in the United States and when it was, people were unsure of its exact meaning. It was taken for granted that men who earned money for a living were "professionals". In effect, there was a "professional" and "non-professional" class. When the Schuylkill Navy announced that its races would be open to "amateurs" only, all assumed that they were eligible and filled out the appropriate forms. About one-half of the rowers were rejected. When asked why, the committee replied that these men were not amateurs.[15] With the conclusion of the regatta, the banned oarsmen asked for an explanation of their status. It was stated that "a man was a professional if he took money for athletic endeavours."[16] The oarsmen stated that they had never been paid for rowing in athletic events. The committee took aim at the practise of betting and in an effort to discourage it, stated that to benefit financially from rowing meant the same. This brought even louder protestations from the group. Many stated that while they did bet on themselves they often lost both the races and the wagers. Certainly they had not benefitted financially from rowing; if anything it was costing them money. The committee's answer was that the rowers had bet with the hope of making money and thus their status as amateurs was destroyed.[17] When the National Association of Amateur Oarsmen took over control of the sport from the Schuylkill Navy, in 1873, it was this reasoning and definition which was adopted.[18]

It is quite conceivable that these concepts found their way into Canada early after their introduction into the United States. At the first regatta of the New Dominion Club of Toronto, in June of 1873, no distinction was made between amateur and professional rowers. Americans entered and dominated most events. It was the first time that the American rowers entered a Canadian meet in force.[19] As a result, at the Toronto Citizen's Regatta held in the fall of 1873, "due probably to the latter event, separate events were held for amateurs and professionals."[20] The competition being more equalized, the results were more satisfactory.

Not only was the idea prevalent that a contest should be made from people having an equal opportunity to win, it was also obvious that it should be made with the upper class element having a chance to win some events and prizes. As mentioned above, the attempt was made to bar the Indian from competitions with whites in snowshoe and lacrosse events because of his skill. The rowing clubs were simply following suit. Similarly, when challenges were made, there might be a restrictive enjoinder in the wording of the proposal as below:

> Alex Braley of St. John (is willing) to row a single skull race against anyone in the Dominion, barring George Brown, for any sum from $500 to $1,000.[21]

Brown was at this time the acknowledged champion of

Halifax Harbour. Brayley was simply acknowledging Brown's superiority as a rower and in effect saying that he was set on showing all that he was the best, after Brown.

Certainly distinctions were also made in other areas of Canadian life. A published definition for "amateur" and "professional" exhibitors existed for the Ontario Provincial Agricultural Exhibition of 1867.[22] There were societies of amateur acting groups composed of "gentlemen" whose performances were given only to "friends of the participants."[23] Classifications of Artists also existed, again as "amateur" and "professional". By virtue of the fact that the amateur was not only a "gentleman", but also a novice, he was at a disadvantage in competing against one who worked at being an artist or professed to be one. To give the novice a chance of basking in some glory, it was necessary to allow him to compete only with his own kind. It was not necessarily the "best" of a particular group which was being sought; rather it was the best of a certain segment of similar backgrounds.

The three recognized "professions" in Canada, Law, Medicine and Divinity were cited in an article[24] which attempted to classify farming as a profession. Subsequent articles stated that farming was an "occupation" rather than a "profession" since "Canadian farmers as a class lack gentleness, the first element of refinement (making him) too often a most ungenial and ungentle being."[25] Further evidence of the unprofessional character of farming was given: the narrow range of his observation, the monotony of his experience, his narrow reasoning, his selfishness, the looseness of his morals and his lack of mission. All these and more, led a writer from Kingston to declare that it was "folly to dignify the work of the farmer with any high sounding title until his work takes on a higher character."[16] A correspondent from Ancaster took issue with the Kingston analysis, pointing out that the critic's examples were all capable of being applied to individuals in any field of endeavor. As to the lack of refinement and loose duties, the writer from Ancaster rebutted that "if the same test were applied to the lawyers and doctors of this country, a good many would sink into the category of occupationals."[27]

From these lofty descriptions of the professions, it is quite certain that the athlete, who was described as a professional, had none of the preconceived notions of the accepted professions. Rather, he was certainly regarded as being in the category of an "occupational".

It appears, too, that the ambivalence of usage of the term "professional" was unsettling for the competitor who was quite anxious to develop and refine his skill to its fullest degree. Yet he knew that his performance might be judged by "unprofessional" standards. On one such occasion, it was observed that the 1872 Ontario Exhibition of Fine Arts was lacking good work in the "professional" category. A reader[28] of the Mail offered that

> . . . one of the reasons is because, as must be generally admitted on all sides, the prizes awarded are for the most part neither an honour to the recipient nor a credit to the judges, but on the contrary, rather tend to expose the lamentable want of good taste and ignorance of all rules and principles of Art on the part of the latter. These gentlemen (non-professional) no doubt do their best and some excuse may be made for them on the ground that the time given them to inspect the many works sent in for competition is too short for even the practised examination that is necessary . . . . The Artist is put into the position of having to prostitute his work so as to know who the judges are and what is going to appeal to him and paint accordingly.
>
> (signed) H. Hancock,
> Hon. Sec.
> Ontario Society of
> Artists, Toronto.

Similar problems were experienced by some others, who while qualifying for "amateur" competition were desirous of demonstrating their talent to the fullest degree while being judged by knowledgeable, well-advised men of insight. The Montreal Victoria Skating Championships of 1873 provided such an example. The meet, to be witnessed by Patrons Lord and Lady Dufferin, was "open only to amateurs, resident of the Dominion."[29] Shortly before the competitions were to begin, it was announced that all the "gentlemen-competitors", except one, refused to compete. The incompetence of the judges was cited as the reason. The Governor-General, who as the benefactor of the annual "champion medal to be competed for by all lovers of skating throughout the Dominion",[30] expressed disappointment at the turn of events. He recommended that future competitions for the medal "be put on such a footing as that none of these gentlemen who have disappointed us on the present occasion, should have a second opportunity of doing so again."[31] The five, J. Maclean, F. Jarvis, J.C. Jenkins, D. Barnston and W. Barnston, stated that they "wished to skate and were only desirous of having for judges a full body of first rate skaters whoever they might be, who could fully understand the difficult movements and who would arrive at the most correct decision for the comparative merits of those competing for the championship prizes."[32]

There was a similar problem in music. While it was stated that society was indebted to its amateur musicians, it was necessary to remind them that their aim should be to give pleasure to others and "not to gratify their own vanity or indulge in vulgar cravings for semi-publicity or venture across the Rubicon which divides public from private performances."[33] The writer admonished the musicians tendency to emulate the professionals by seeking

> . . . to super-add to amateurs' experiences, professional grimaces. They do nothing for art and only make themselves ridiculous. Tried by any but a very indulgent standard, the result of their effort is, at most, third rate.34

It appears, then, that a two level approach to the creative features of Canadian culture was developing. On the one hand there was a desire on the part of many to dabble in farming, music, art and sport. On the other hand there appeared a tendency towards excellence in those same areas. Increasingly, as the years passed, it was necessary that the two approaches be segregated so as to not compete with one another. Each group had its own goals and purpose. As long as they competed among those with similar views, there was no problem. Once the aims of the competition were hazy, problems developed. For example, when a race was advertised as "open", the implication was that the object of the event was to discover the best performer for that occasion; people could not understand why they were barred from competing. To make matters worse, some felt, that those people who were allowed to compete were masquerading as people of greater ability than they really were. The "professional grimaces" of the amateur musician had its counterpart in all the above mentioned areas. At least one observer of the times was dissatisfied with the spurious situation.

> At the present moment, our city is afflicted with a plethora of mud and aristocracy. For the first, we hold our city fathers responsible. For the second we can only hold to account that nemesis who often sees fit to bring scourges on people who are enjoying more than an ordinary share of human prosperity. While London is enveloped in her

> perennial fogs, Washington cursed with legions of jobbers and Paris hypnotized by Medes and Persians without and famine within her walls, the capital of Ontario is infested with an army of quasi-autocrats who clothe themselves in fine linen and fare sumptuously every day without having any visible means of gaining their living or possessing any outward ability of paying their tailor's bills. The peculiarity of the species genus homo is their intense predeliction for blue blood and their infatuated love for everything English. They wear oxford cut coats, made in Toronto, Picadilly gaitors, the cunning craftsmanship of some Kingston convict, Cambridge neckties, the handy work of a Yonge Street seamstress and eyeglasses as certainly never came from Nettretti and Zambra. They claim close relationships with Dukes, near connections with Earls and call ordinary Lords by Hail Fellow abbreviations of their christian names.[35]

Perhaps the observer's antagonism toward those who pretended to be something other than what they were was related to the increased opportunities available to more people. The rise of Mechanics' Institutes, the nine hours a day and early closing movements, all fortified the growing notion that people were not simply "placed in the world to buy and sell. There were other objects of a life and the clerks should be given this opportunity to attend to them for their physical, moral and intellectual well-being."[76] As more opportunities developed, there seemed to be a growing urgency in sport for some formula of differentiation between participants. In most cases, the classification revolved around the notion of deciding who was an amateur and who therefore would be classified as a non-amateur. It should be mentioned that once the decision was made as to who was an amateur, the others were not automatically categorized as "professionals".

The case of George Brown, champion rower of Halifax, illustrates this latter point. Upon his sudden death in 1875, the Morning Chronicle wrote:

> George Brown was born thirty-six years ago in the fishing village of Herring Cove. Every man in Herring Cove is a fisherman. George Brown was one from the day he was old enough to handle an oar. Though he could not, for many years past, be classified as an amateur, he could scarcely be called a professional oarsman, for oarsmanship was not his profession and his unparalleled success in it never induced him to abandon the occupation of his life. He left his fishing boats and nets to go in training for a race. The race over, he returned to his work and continued to reap the harvest of the deep.[37]

The above illustrates, as well, the dilemma of attempting to define in concrete terms, the professional athlete. In the opinion of the reporter Brown was not an amateur but, even though he had rowed for money, could not be classed as a professional rower. His profession, or occupation, was that of a fisherman. The implication was that one's profession had to be his vocation and had to be full time. The assumption was usually made that the sportsman who was an occupational had a natural advantage over his sedentary competitor. It thus became a natural progression to assert that an athlete, being paid with money, could be classified as an occupational, i.e. a professional.

Thus it was that the Caledonian Games, or any other games for which gate money was charged, or money prizes given, came to be associated with the newly emerging concept of money being equated with professionalism. The circuitous connection was in the midst of being developed during the 1870's. A curious lore of logic was developing:

> Any club or member of a club, once paid to play on a grounds ceases to be an "amateur". Such is the rule. Two clubs playing for the whole gate money are playing for a stake or wager, which does not necessarily make them "professional". In cases where the losers take a proportion of the gate money, the wager theory falls to the ground, both sides have received money for playing and both thereafter rank as "professionals". Indeed, in the first case it might be contended that the pay of both sides was merely pooled and pocketed by the winner. There can be no doubt that "amateurs" properly so called are persons who pay their own expenses and do not play for hire, directly or indirectly.[38]

The trend toward money as a criterion was given much publicity during the year 1876 as a result of the Centennial Regatta held at Philadelphia. It was during this event when Edward Hanlan defeated a field of Americans and Britishers to become champion of North America. The meet stirred up much controversy among the English. The definition of the British "amateur" excluded those who worked at manual labour;[39] the American did not. A bitter controversy developed, the British claiming that their opponents were not amateurs but artisans.[40] A commentator stated that until then the "gentleman" clubs had it all their way in deciding which clubs were to be recognized and which ignored. However, a feeling among the excommunicated was growing to the point where they were demanding entrance to those competitions nominally open to all "unprofessional" sportsmen. These men, it was noted, were barred from the principle gatherings because their social status did not satisfy some exacting secretary.[41] For example:

> A man may run racehorses and shoot pigeons for money prizes and yet not forfeit his title to be an amateur, while another may freely subscribe to the very prizes the former wins and yet be denied the title because it is alleged that his social status does not warrant its bestowal. The attempt to define social classes which are in a state of transition is really impossible. Would it not then far better to class our athletes according to these very simple rules which are obvious to everyone: A professional is one who seeks pecuniary gain; an amateur does not.[42]

It was also at this time that another American influence was making itself felt on the Canadian sporting scene: baseball. For purposes of our discussion, the significant date is April, 1869. It was at that time that the Cincinnati Red Stockings, the first baseball team in the United States known as "professionals", started a tour of that country. The team won all its sixty-five games. Prior to their arrival on the scene, "all was on a refined amateur basis, for during these years baseball was the special province of so-called gentlemen's clubs, which were determined to see to it that the game was played only by young men of breeding."[43]

The innovation was significant for another reason. The team's coach, Harry Wright, was formerly a top-flight cricketer. His switch to baseball signalled the growing trend away from British influences, one of which was the concept of amateurism. Among the "amateur" clubs there was a fear that

> . . . if skill were the only requisite, undesirable people would soon be playing the game. The influences baseball had to be free from were the influences of aristocratic New York, influences originally British.[44]

The game made its way into the border cities of Canada and "by 1869, baseball had become a popular sport as far afield as Victoria in the west."[45] Competitions between American and Canadian clubs became common, with money prizes being the rule. "At one of these, the Guelph Maple Leafs defeated all comers, including fourteen of the best amateur clubs of the United States."[47]

By 1876, the Canadian Association of Baseball Players was formed as a result of a meeting at the Walker House in Toronto. The convention agreed to follow "the playing rules of the International Association of Baseball Clubs as adopted at the Pittsburgh convention."[47] The game in Canada became a natural attraction or alternative for many American players. It was these players who contributed to an intense rivalry which was building up between Canadian cities such as London and Guelph. Each of these cities was accused of playing professionals and the betting attendant on the games was so heavy that it was necessary to play a return match after proof was offered that London's backers had given the umpire a box of cigars. The Globe noted that neither club issued a direct denial of the charges. It further noted:

> when baseball begins to lose the character of a genuine amateur amusement . . . and partakes of the nature of speculation in the engagement of mercenaries and as a game for gamblers, its sordid side is sure to extinguish whatever favour it may have possessed, at least in the eyes of the public.[48]

Perhaps because of the existence of the American professional leagues and the common acceptance that these players were paid, there seemed to be more of a readily accepted association between professionalism and money, as evidenced by the Globe writer's description of these players as "mercenaries". Of course, it must be noted as well that the term could have been used because of the preponderance of American players on the London and Guelph teams. This was even more evident in 1877 when, perhaps for the first time, the term "semi-professional" was used to describe the character of some baseball clubs.[49] It's quite possible that the term "professional" was being used to describe someone who performed the activity full time during his season, while "semi-professional" referred to baseball players whose income from his daily position was supplemented by small earnings from baseball. Because of the great number of American players available and the resulting imbalance when a team with many Americans played against a team of local men, an effort was made to equalize competition, the Canadian Baseball Association introducing championships for amateurs and professionals.[50]

Even though separate championships, based on skill levels did exist in Canada in 1877, it was still possible for competition between amateur and professional teams to take place. It is interesting to note that the status of the professional club was always appended in brackets: (e.g.)"The first baseball match of the season was played here in Guelph today between the Maple Leafs (professional) and the Silver Creeks, the Maple Leafs winning by a score of 14 - 4."[51] As the gaps in skill broadened and the amateur clubs fell farther behind in terms of ability, it became necessary for them to form associations encompassing clubs of similar ability; one such group was the Toronto Association of Amateur Baseball Players formed in the year 1878.[52]

As a delimitation came to be observed with respect to the "professional" and money, it was soon evident that some "grey" areas existed. If money were to be the criterion, could one receive expense money to reimburse him for funds spent in the pursuit of his sport? Could teams charge admission to competitions? If money admission was being charged, did the winner of the match keep it? Was it split between the competitors? Could the expenses incurred by the teams in preparation of the match be deducted and awarded to each? What would happen to the balance? What effect would this have on the status of the participants; were they amateur? professional? The problem was being aired vociferously in England where, it appears, some "gentlemen" were charging exorbitant expense money for cricket matches against some touring "players". The tourists, Australians, stated that when they arranged the matches against the "gentlemen" clubs, they took for granted that no money would be directed toward the latter, for "gentlemen by virtue of their position are supposed to be above being hired."[53] The article expressed general agreement with this observation stating that

> paid gentlemen exist only because a feeling of false shame deters them from openly and honestly joining the ranks of the professionals . . . . Others choose to make a business of a pastime and find that they can't afford to devote themselves to it, ought bodly to look the situation in the face. Unless cricket be made a means of gaining honourably a livelihood, it is like all other games, a luxury. If a gentleman can afford this luxury, by all means, let him play; if he cannot bear the cost, there are two reasonable courses open — either to give it up or turn professional, as more than one good man of the present generation has done.[54]

By this time, in Britain, there were several ways that an amateur could lose his status and be categorized as a professional. However, different formulae existed in different sports. In pedestrianism, he was automatically so classified once he competed for money, against a professional or for a share of gate money. In other sport such as billiards, racquets or tennis, there was no such restriction. The general principle in vogue seemed to be that "not seeking to gain money is a qualification of an amateur", thus making it difficult to find in cricket, acquatics or pedestrianism a real non-professional.[55] As far as the correspondent was concerned, some common sense had to be applied. His suggestion was that an amateur should retain his status when he risked money on his performance but "is an amateur no longer when he accepts a fixed sum for doing a certain thing."[56] As for legitimate out of town expenses, it was suggested that these should be provided, but in such a way that the club entertained the performer as a guest, thus removing all objections. This is probably the origin of amateur rugby clubs being associated with entertaining their opponents after the match, thus avoiding the necessity of transfering money to cover some of the expenses of the match.

By 1880, the Amateur Athletic Association was formed in Britain. The amateur definition was remodelled: "the mechanic, artisan or labourer clause now being omitted."[57] Interestingly enough, the motion to disqualify amateurs who were detected selling their prizes was defeated, although it was said to be an objectionable practice. The Association also placed a limit on the value of prizes, ten pounds, effective January 1, 1881. Restrictions were imposed against prizes donated by merchants, it being resolved that each prize should be engraved with the name of the winner. It was for the regulation of the pedestrian events that the association was organized and money the criterion of professionalism; the rowing associations still had their own definitions of amateurism still related to the manual labour aspects of the competitors.

While the formation of the English Association at least gave the athlete who was declared a "professional" an opportunity for reinstatement, the situation was somewhat confusing in Canada. The concept of what constituted a professional (as well as what constituted an amateur) was still evolving. Among clubs in North America there seemed to be a preference to deal on a club basis. For example the New York Athletic Club decided to lift its ban on three Canadian athletes who, having competed in Caledonian games, had been declared professionals by the American group. When the Montreal Lacrosse Club petitioned the New York group they were advised "that the New York Athletic Club will hereafter accept the entries of J.A. Fullerton, D. Bower and W. Allen or any other gentlemen whose amateur standing is guaranteed by the Montreal Lacrosse Club."[58]

The result of these types of arrangements was that an athlete might be accepted as a bona fide competitor in one place and yet declared a professional in another. The Canadian "disqualified amateur" at this time had no provincial or national body to which he might apply for reinstatement. He could be reinstated only "by making application to the National Amateur Athletics Association of the United States . . . unsatisfactory because it appeals to a foreign power."[59] There was an obvious distaste for this and coupled with the statement that many leaders of amateur sport were misinformed as to what constituted an amateur and professional, it was declared that the "wonder was that with such blind leaders of the blind, more of our young athletes do not fall into the pit of professionalism."[60]

What with Caledonian Games, six day races, hippodroming, rowing events, gate receipts and lacrosse conventions all acting as an influence on amateur-professional problems, the additional practise of awarding "situations" to promising lacrosse players became established in 1880. The sport reporter for the Mail stated: "there should be no connection between our business and our recreations. Obtaining a position for a man solely because he plays lacrosse is really making business subservient to the game. It is the thin edge of professionalism."[61] It appeared that many practises were the "thin edge of professionalism" and as a result, the question was asked:

> What is a professional? Should the standing of the other parties in a competition or the particular form of prize competed for, determine the fact of professionalism? Cricket law and custom say no; the others in a chorus say yes. Which is right? Are the boys who pull off their boots and coats on the Queen's birthday or Dominion Day picnic and take a one hundred yard dash for a dollar's stake purse got up on the spur of the moment by some gentleman on the grounds "to make a Roman Holiday" any more professionals in any proper sense than such amateurs as Claude Myers, W.H. Purdy, W.B. Curtis and others who have their regular trainers, who travel hundreds of miles and contend for five hundred dollar cups and would there not be something supremely ridiculous in refusing to allow one of these boys to compete with one of these celebrated amateurs because he won fifty cents in the aforesaid competition? And would it not be more ridiculous still if the aforesaid boys only ran for a cup worth a hundred dollars but owing to want of skill on the part of the donor, no restrictions were made as entries and a professional came in and won it, leaving the boys without fame or even a mug wherewith to cool their thirst amid the burning sands of professionalism into which they had run headlong in that unpropitious dash of one hundred yards. In fact, does not the rule, as it stands, lead to the most ridiculous conclusions and does not it tend to cramp and narrow athletic culture rather than extend it by encouraging it . . . . A man does not become a doctor or lawyer because he is willing to dose you or argue your case for cash down. His training and skill are the factors.62

The writer took the analogy farther when he declared that factors such as training, skill and his object in pursuing the competition should all be taken into consideration in determining one's athletic status.

Notwithstanding the above, the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen was formed in 1880; "a decided line was drawn between the man who rowed for stakes and he who did not."[63] It was a period when there was accelerated growth in amateur associations. More often than not, however, these organizations were more concerned with what constituted an amateur rather than who was a professional. Clubs such as the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, a union of the Montreal Lacrosse, Snowshoe and Bicycle Clubs, the Ottawa Amateur Athletic Club and the Hamilton Amateur Athletic Club were each initiated with the intention of providing regulated athletic (track and field) competition between amateurs. The problem was not so much in defining the outright professional. He was by now, for purposes of description and identification, one who competed for a money prize. It was more a case of developing prohibitions against the "sham-amateur, who while nominally competing for a mug, is maintained by a body of men who use him for the speculative purpose or the honour and glory of themselves or their native town."[64] While this type was certainly representative of one grouping of competitors to be kept out of "amateur" competitions, there was also the problem concerning those who worked as manual labourers. How should they be classified in relation to the clerk and those in sedentary positions. If England were to be used as an example specifically in rowing, these manual labourers could not be classified as amateurs. However, in Canada and indeed North America, there seemed to be an awareness that it was a topic that could result in the throwing of invectives at those taking the side of the sedentary working groups. Those who wanted a distinction stated that it was not because the labourers were considered to be inferior to the non-labourers "but because in physical manhood, they consider them their superiors, that is to say, because their occupation gives them greater bodily strength and better lungs."[65] With respect to this, it was concluded:

> Amateur rowing, it must be remembered, is a pastime; in other words a pursuit of pleasure. If young men whose avocations necessarily cramp wind and limb are to be pitted against those hard fisted sons of toil, whose every day work expands the lungs and creates muscle they may feel themselves outclassed. In these days of scientific application, however, mere brute strength is minimized by intelligence and skill and therefore, the foregoing does not seem to us to be sufficient reason for creating a class distinction. Still the question is sure to be coming up for debate and the bolder and firmer it is met the better for all concerned.[66]

The point was certainly illustrated when it was offered as an excuse for the defeat of the Toronto Lacrosse Club by its Irish rivals, the Montreal Shamrocks. It was stated that Toronto's players occupied sedentary positions while the Shamrocks were engaged in manual labour. It was further reasoned that the Shamrocks paid more heed to their dieting and their training than did their opponents; it was obvious that the Torontos were not using their "skill and intelligence" to minimize the Shamrocks' brute strength.

> Eating unripe peaches on the eve of our struggle and keeping late hours are by no means the concomitants of good training.

> It is not to be expected that young men following a game for pleasure will go into strict training like a professional for all the fun would be taken out of it, but they might reasonably be expected, if they are so devoted to their game and club as they appear to be, to take good care of themselves as to be regular and constant at practise, to go in as much as possible for combined play, to pay some heed to their diet and to follow the good old rule of early to bed and early to rise.[67]

A certain amount of ambivalence can be noted from the above remarks. The whole amateur movement seemed directed towards providing equalized competition between novices. Yet while it was encouraged that amateurs compete only occasionally, the expectations seemed to be that he take a pseudo-professional approach to his training. But if he did take a serious approach, he ran the risk of being branded a "sham-amateur" or "promateur".[68] Again, it should be mentioned that the "outright professional" was condoned; "there was nothing low of professionalism itself. A professional athlete who earns his living squarely by his bodily powers is as far as his business is concerned, as good a man as any living."[69] It was the professional amateur who refused to meet his competitors on even terms, "who makes business of sport and a living out of it, avoids in a cowardly and contemptible way those who are his true rivals and deliberately sets out to match himself, carefully prepared in all points, against men whom he knows cannot possibly come to the scratch in trim equal to his own . . . against men who do not claim to be equals of trained athletes."[70] Not only was this a problem, the fear was constantly expressed that certain of these promateurs catered to the gambling element, occasionally losing a race they were heavily favoured to win and thus effecting a betting coup. Because athletic organizations had been tinkering with amateur definitions "for a generation or two and no definition had been sufficiently devised to keep out doubtful men from important events."[71] At the Lachine Regatta of 1882, Holmes, the "amateur champion" lost his race, apparently making no attempt to win. He was bitterly attacked in the press, one of the criticisms being that he had travelled to many meets and was heard to remark that "he was under contract to a certain individual for a certain number of races."[72] If this didn't make him a professional (the rowing for a consideration), the Mail thundered, he was at least a semi-professional for his constant training for the many meets he entered.

The relationship of amateurism, money and professionalism was firmly entrenched by 1883. The two major sports of the time, Lacrosse and Rowing, each had their association and in each, money was the distinguishing feature of professionalism. Cycling, of course, had its organization, the Canadian Wheelman's Association formed in 1882, but cycling was still in its infancy. The other major sport still to be controlled was Athletics, i.e. track and field. The abuses in "pedestrianism" were said to revolve around competing for money, whether it was gate money, prize money, stakes or related problems with gambling. A concerted effort was made in 1883 to bring pedestrianism under control. The Mail reported that it felt "incompetent to deal with the task of professional pedestrianism: the task smacks too much of the Augean Stable character and Hercules has been dead for some years."[73] A litany of evils associated with pedestrianism included: travelling under assumed names, collusion of athletes one with the other before their event, false pretences, and in general, "fixing the race to go whatever way they net the most money to themselves."[74]

Whereas the Mail had at one time encouraged athletic contests to the point that it published challenges and results, at times even holding the stake money, it announced in 1883, that it would no longer hold stakes nor make matches. It further stated that if there was any deviation from this policy, it was only because of confidence in the principals.[75]

Professionalism and money were so linked by 1883 that professionals were "not necessarily those engaged in running as a profession. A professional is, as a rule, simply a man who competes for money when he gets the chance."[76] No longer was there any confusion as to whether one was an "occupational or a manual labourer or skilled craftsman. The social distinction in vogue at Confederation was all but abolished, money being the only criterion. It remained only to complete the link on the sport spectrum with amateurism.

Two main problems confronted the various athletic clubs. There was no means of reinstating repentent transgressors against amateurism (in Canada) and there was no uniformity regarding the definition of an amateur. With respect to the former, it was necessary for the penitent to appeal to his club "which refers him to the Montreal Amateur Athletic Club, perhaps backing him up with a recommendation. The MAAA lays the case before the American Athletic Association of which it is a member. The American Athletic Association does nothing until it is ready to do as it pleases."[77]

The ignominy of appealing to a "foreign power" as well as the length of time involved in achieving the reinstatement was a direct factor in the announcement made to form the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada. After meetings in December of 1883 and March of 1884, the Association was formed April 11, 1884, William Maltby the president. The object of the organization, it was stipulated, was to regulate the athletic competitions not at that time under the jurisdiction of other associations in Canada. Noting that the Canadian Cricket, Lacrosse, Rowing, Football and Wheelman's Associations already existed, it stated that "the aim of our Association is mainly to regulate amateur competition on the cinder path."[78] With this in mind the following was passed as its definition of an amateur:

> An amateur is one who has never competed for a money prize, or staked bet, or with or against any professional for any prize, or who has never taught, pursued or assisted in the practise of athletic exercises as a means of obtaining a livelihood. This rule does not interfere with the right of any club to refuse an entry to its own sports.[79]

FOOTNOTES TO PART ONE, II.

[1] Peter C. Lindsay, "A History of Sport In Canada, 1807-1867", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 390.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Manchester Guardian*, cited in the *Morning Chronicle*, Quebec, August 14, 1867.

[5] A.E. Cox, "A History of Sport In Canada, 1868-1900", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 408.

[6] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[7] *Montreal Gazette*, March 20, 1867.

[8] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[9] *Daily News*, Kingston, March 6, 1867, cited in Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[10] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

[11] *Montreal Gazette*, October 23, 1868.

[12] *Toronto Globe*, August 5, 1869.

[13] *Ibid.*, August 9, 1869.

[14] Frank Menke, The New Encyclopedia of Sports. New York: Barnes and Co., 1947, p. 11.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Toronto Mail, June 28, 1875.

[22] Professional Artists are to be understood as those who paint or teach for a livelihood, or as a matter of profit, or who habitually sell or offer for sale their productions; or who have at any previous time habitually painted or taught for a livelihood or for profit.

Evidence of originality to be furnished by the exhibitor, whenever required by the Judges or the Committee.

Amateur artists are to be understood as those who do not paint or teach for a livelihood, or for profit, or habitually sell or offer for sale their productions; and who have not at any time heretofore done so.

Evidence of originality to be furnished by the exhibitor, whenever required by the judges or to the committee.

[23] Toronto Globe, June 19, 1867.

[24] The Canadian Farmer, "Farming As a Profession". Toronto: The Globe Printing Co., 1871, January 16, pp. 18, 19; October 16, p. 378; September 15, p. 340.

[25] Ibid., September 15, 1871, p. 340.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., October 16, 1871, p. 378.

[28] Toronto Globe, October 2, 1872.

[29] Montreal Gazette, January 30, 1873.

[30] Ibid., February 5, 1873.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Montreal Herald, February 11, 1873.

[33] Toronto Mail, February 11, 1873.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Toronto Daily Telegraph, December 12, 1870.

[36] Toronto Daily Mail, May 8, 1877.

[37] Halifax Morning Chronicle, July 9, 1875.

[38] Toronto Mail, August 4, 1876.

[39] See page , supra.

[40] Toronto Mail, December 5, 1876.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Douglas Wallop, Baseball: An Informal History. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., p. 24.

[44] Ibid., p. 25.

[45] Cox, op. cit., p. 42.

[46] Toronto Globe, July 8, 1874, cited in Cox, p. 44.

[47] Toronto Globe, April 6, 1877.

[48] Toronto Globe, September 12, 1876.

[49] Toronto Mail, March 23, 1877.

[50] Toronto Mail, April 6, 1877.

[51] Toronto Mail, April 19, 1877. The interesting feature of this is that just as the status of professionals was an appended one after the name of the team, the same was true of Negro and Indian athletes. For example, Berry, the rower, would be described in the press as "Bob Berry (coloured)" and an Indian athlete as "Peter Thomas (Indian".

[52] Toronto Mail, April 2, 1878.

[53] Ibid., July 25, 1878.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Toronto Mail, May 13, 1880.

[58] Toronto Mail, December 19, 187[illegible]

[59] Toronto Mail, October 17, 1880. It's interesting to note that the association in the United States, the National Athletic Association was formed in 1879 at the instigation of the Columbia Boat Club. It was formed without the various athletic clubs. A select few of the latter met to form a new association, stating that they must be very careful who they invite "for they might come here and outvote us." (Robert Korsgaard, "A History of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States", unpublished Doctor of Education project, Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1952). Korsgaard stated regarding this association that "the suggestion to invite all amateur athletic clubs (to the meeting forming an association in 1879) was laughed down with the remark that it was not the intention to have many clubs in the association. It was meant to be a very 'high toned and exclusive organization'." The result was the formation of the National Association of Amateur Athletes of America. The only Canadian clubs in 1881 recognized by this American association were the Montreal and Toronto lacrosse clubs and McGill University.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Toronto Mail, October 6, 1880.

[62] Toronto Mail, October 20, 1880.

[63] Robert S. Hunter, Rowing In Canada Since 1848. Hamilton: Davis Lisson Ltd., 1933, p. 46. The CAAO definition of an amateur was as follows: An amateur is one who has never assisted in the pursuit of athletic exercises as a means of livelihood, who rows for pleasure of recreation only and during his leisure hours.

[64] Toronto Mail, August 17, 1881.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] A term first used in 1881 to describe amateurs who toured from one amateur event to another. They were characterized as professional amateurs in the Toronto Mail, September 27, 1881.

[69] Toronto Mail, September 30, 1882.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid., August 23, 1882.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Toronto Mail, January 12, 1883.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Toronto Mail, May 19, 1883.

[76] Ibid., July 13, 1883.

[77] Ibid., December 1, 1883.

[78] First Annual Report of the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada, September 27, 1884, p. 6.

[79] Toronto Globe, September 30, 1884.

III

EDWARD "NED" HANLAN: A CASE STUDY IN PROFESSIONALISM

Ned Hanlan was born on July 12, 1855, the son of a Toronto fisherman. As a youngster, he was an accomplished oarsman, once rowing across Toronto Bay when he was three years old.[1] At the age of sixteen, the young Hanlan, as one of a crew of fishermen, entered his first race. His first single skull race was two years later, defeating Williams and McKay to win the amateur championship of the Bay.[2] He continued to race and defeated all comers, including the highly rated Tom Loudon, whom he met on Toronto Bay for $100 a side. That same year, Hanlan rowed over a two mile course to win the Lord Dufferin Medal, a highly coveted award presented by the Governor-General to the champion sculler in the Toronto Rowing Club regattas.[3] The following year, 1875, Hanlan maintained his winning ways, the championship of Ontario being gained. He was acquiring a reputation as an oarsman but not to the point that he was generally well known outside of rowing circles. In fact, during the first few years of his career, the newspapers persisted in spelling his name as Hanlon.

By 1876, at the age of 21, Hanlan had attracted sufficient attention that a Club of backers was formed to guide his career. The men, Dave Ward, Colonel Shaw, J.

Rogers, Jack Davis and H.P. Good, decided to enter the young oarsman in the Centennial Regatta to be held on the Schuylkill River at Philadelphia. It was a race that Hanlan came close to not entering.

His father owned a hotel on the Toronto Island but for some reason, the younger Hanlan chose to sell some liquor without a permit. He was found out, escaped and a warrant was put out for his arrest. He successfully hid for a number of days, but he was eventually discovered by the police on the docks of the Toronto Rowing Club.

> He eluded the worthy officers and fled in a skiff. . . . the futility of endeavouring to overtake him was obvious to the police and they watched him row away to the steamer loaded with German picnickers and Lewiston bound.[5]

Arriving in Lewiston after having caught up with and boarded the steamer, Hanlan met up with his handlers and continued to Philadelphia to row in the Centennial Regatta. It was a surprised city of Toronto that heard the news that Hanlan had won the championship event, setting a new world's record in the process, while winning the purse of $800. Immediately, preparations were made to welcome home the new hero.

Tributes and praise were lavished on Hanlan; his previous indiscretion was casually overlooked by the Toronto constabulary. His arrival in mid-afternoon was featured by a tumultuous crowd, all eager to pay their tribute. He was "towed through the streets on the largest hook and ladder wagon the city owned to a lavish night-long banquet at the Queen's, the best hotel in Toronto."[6] Hanlan was described in glowing terms. Only a few weeks earlier he was a fugitive from the law; that day he belonged to the masses. Terms such as "unreserved, gracious, kindly, clean, humourous, honest and sporting are just a few of the virtues attributed to the world's new demi-god. He is accredited with those two sterling qualities; friendliness and cleanliness of mind."[7]

Hanlan continued to row during 1877, his next major race being against Wallace Ross of St. John, New Brunswick. The race, for the championship of Canada took place on October 15, 1877 at Toronto. A purse of $1,000 was to be given to the winner of the five mile race. When it was announced that Hanlan was forwarding $300 expense money to Ross to bring the maritimer to Toronto and it was noted that this money was coming from Hanlan's own resources, the Toronto Mail sermonized that since the city of Toronto would benefit greatly from having the race in that city, "it behooves the people of Toronto to see that the fair fame of the city is not tarnished by niggardliness in this matter."[8]

With respect to the race with Ross, there was much Maritime money waged on the easterner making him an 8 - 1 favourite against the younger and inexperienced Hanlan.

Maritime newspapers confidently wrote of the impending victory. When Hanlan's easy victory was a fact, however, the New Brunswick papers contained articles condemning boat racing and advising people to give up the sport on account of its gambling and demoralizing tendencies.[9]

Hanlan continued his winning ways in 1878, defeating Evan Morris for a purse of $1,000 and the championship of the United States. By this time, the Canadian oarsman's races were eagerly looked forward to. When Fred Plaisted of New York challenged Hanlan to a race, it was news enough; when the site of the race was designated as Toronto, there was nodding approval on all sides. It was an event that was to appeal to citizens from all areas within travelling range of Toronto. The "gentlemen who have Hanlan in hand . . . made very favourable arrangements with the various railways for the conveyance of the thousands outside the city who are anxious to see the race."[10] Newspapers published lengthy lists of train schedules along wih reduced rates available from points east, west and north of Toronto. The whole atmosphere had the aspects of a huge celebration. As the event approached and, after it was over, enthusiasm prevailed.

> On May 15th, the contestants made a tour of the theatres and other places of amusement. At the Royal Opera House, private boxes had been decorated with English and American colours and during a portion of the evening's performance, the two occupied

> seats near the lower tier. The party then visited the Lyceum Theatre where the winner of the race would be made recipient of a handsome present on behalf of the managers. They were also to attend Hamilton's concert in the Adelaide Street rink where they received a capacity applause. After the race was over, in the evening, the two oarsmen and their friends, attended the performance at the Royal Opera House and Lyceum Theatre. The Lyceum was first visited and their appearance created the most intense enthusiasm. Hanlan received a beautiful fine gold ornament, consisting of a pair of oars about three inches long, made a short speech which was followed by Plaisted and proceeded to the Royal Theatre, their appearance in their private box being greeted with uproaring cheering. Colonel Shaw, the United States consul, made a few remarks relating to the great event of the day and the conclusion of his speech was the signal for another tremendous burst of applause. The longest and the loudest hurrah was occasioned by the presentation from the fair hands of Miss Suffod, the bright particular star of the evening's performance, of bouquets to Messrs. Hanlan and Plaisted and their escorts.[11]

In Quebec, the news of Hanlan's victory was announced during the performance of the Weatherby Troupe from the stage of the Music Hall where it was "received with great enthusiasm."[12]

Between races, Hanlan added to his luste by assuming the role of a patron of rowing. Almost as if to emphasize the special character of this man, by now a representative sports hero, many of the races were started close by his birthplace on the island. The area was later to be designated, and to this day is still known as, Hanlan's Point. After one such competition sponsored by Hanlan, skiff races for money, it was recognized that he had given "considerable impulse to rowing";[13] so much so that "the ferry owners were not slow to second the efforts of Hanlan by organizing a skiff race for amateurs (securing) their cooperation by offering the substantial reward to the victors of a gold, a silver and a bronze medal."[14] The medals were put on display in the window of a downtown Toronto jewelery store perhaps contributing to an unprecedented eleven entrants in the race.

Hanlan continued his string of victories, winning a race in Brockville by twelve lengths. By now his influence was such that an Episcopal clergyman announced to his congregation that they should each, one and all, see the great race and "let their servants go also."[15] The minister described how he had sought an introduction to Hanlan and having attained it, "how thoroughly he was impressed by his frank and manly manner."[16] Even though the event was really a foregone conclusion, "all were agreed the event would have been a good one for pool selling had there been no Blake Act. Yet none seemed disposed to risk their lucre in bets and consequently very little money changed hands."[17] Certainly Hanlan's status, even at this time, as a professional was certainly not one which was detrimental. He was a recognized national hero, a skilled performer whose deportment was impeccable. After the Brockville race, Hanlan's popularity was such that he "was the hero of the town. The height of the ladies' ambition is to secure an introduction and the men all stare in mute admiration when he is in their vicinity."[18]

This status was probably no more evident anywhere than it was later in 1878 at the Lachine Regatta. His match with Charles Courtney probably received the greatest amount of publicity of any event prior to 1880. It was the first of the sometimes famous, other times infamous, Hanlan versus Courtney matches. Their rivalry stemmed from the 1876 Centennial Regatta where Hanlan won the "professional" title and Courtney the "amateur". Ever since, the "dream match" was talked of. In October of 1878, it was to become a reality. An estimated twenty thousand spectators lined the shores of Lake Louise and watched Hanlan defeat Courtney by the narrow margin of a length and a quarter. The Union Springs, New York sculler was dissatisfied, saying that Hanlan had fouled him during the five mile race.

Hanlan's victory and the purse of $10,000 were front page news, an opportunity for chauvinistic nationalism. The Globe proclaimed that whereas previously any competition between the United States and Canada was a foregone conclusion in favour of the Americans, Hanlan's victories, starting with the Centennial Regatta "showed Canadians what a wonder they had on their own soil."[19]

It was the next day, however, that the first discordant notes were sounded against the race. Unbeknownst, they were to be the harbinger of future squabbles and insinuations which attended later match ups between these two prominent scullers. Amid headlines of "The Great American Eagle Screeches Fraud", the Globe angrily dismissed the New York Times article that Courtney was bribed with $4,000 to lose the race and added to this sum by placing bets on Hanlan.[20] No indication was given that Hanlan was party to any of the alleged arrangements. The charges were never proven but they served to indicate that perhaps something was awry and left some doubt in the minds of people, particularly Americans, that Hanlan was, indeed, the better rower.

During this period, new boat clubs started up throughout much of Canada "amidst the excitement caused by Hanlan's successes; there was considerable progress in the development of the sport in Canada."[21]

Within two months of the Lachine race, it was announced that Hanlan would travel to England to row against John Hawdon. The latter was not a champion but "considered one of England's best . . . the coming man in Great Britain."[22] Prior to his leaving, Hanlan was in Windsor, Ontario. A reporter from Detroit sought him out to ask him of his impending English journey. The fact that he was being interviewed for American readers is an indication of the hold that the young oarsman had on both countries. Hanlan's answers also give a good indication of professionalism as he saw it. When asked under what terms he was going to England, he replied:

> Same as in Canada and the United States. The Club will look after the details and leave me nothing to do but row, eat, exercise and sleep. I am not overconfident but I always do my very best no matter who I pull against and I take good care of myself. Why that Club would never let me get out of trim even now when I am out of training and when I wouldn't pull the poorest sculler in Windsor. John Davis here, watches every morsel I eat. I do not believe in training in spurts. A man should keep pretty well near in form always if he follows rowing professionally.[23]

It was only a short time after this that the "great American Eagle Screeched" again, this time using a Canadian mouthpiece. The Spirit of the Times, using material from the Canadian, Toronto based, Sporting Times renewed its attack on Hanlan. After mentioning that Hanlan and his backers had severed connections, it went on to describe a litany of evils associated with Hanlan's rowing career. Among the charges, it was asserted that "at least one of his backers was playing 'fast and loose' in a shameful manner."[24] It was also mentioned that Hanlan's money was mismanaged as was his reputation; that he was directed to win only by certain margins; that he had been manipulated in the interest of the betting pools; that he had been instructed to stay behind certain lengths in order to help the betting; on more than one occasion, it was charged, telegrams were sent to assistants up the course with the message to tell Hanlan to slow down or speed up his pace; that a match made for $1,000 was continually advertised for $2,000 to give it greater importance; that on the Kennebecassis river, a turning buoy was moved one-half mile beyond its advertised distance in order to bilk those who had bet on time.

> Such tricks might be pardoned of fourth rate professionals but the champion oarsman of America holds an honourable title and is to some extent, private property. His position makes him a representative man. Respect and proper pride in himself and of his country should teach him to keep his moral character up to the standard of his physical prowess.[25]

The article caused a furore. Hanlan was thought to be above all that. His club of backers was composed of gentlemen. The Mail wrote an editorial condemning the brazen action of the American newspapers. It stated that the "Hanlan Club was an outcome of public spirit creditable to all concerned. It was and is composed of gentlemen actuated of no mercenary motives but purely love of the true interests of sport."[26] The whole reason and history of the club was that of devotion to helping Hanlan win titles for himself and his country by providing "funds to stake against funds."[27] A letter from none other than Hanlan followed. While giving his backers a "vote of confidence", he remarked that it seemed "strange that rumours are published without looking to see as to their truthfulness. The article is without truth or foundation from beginning to end."[28]

While the charges and counter charges receded into the background, Hanlan made his way to England to race Hawdon, defeating him easily. He was matched with William Elliott, the English champion. Hanlan won this race by ten-lengths and along with the victory a new title; he was now the Canadian, American and English champion.

The race with Elliott occasioned such interest in England that twenty passenger steamers filled with racing enthusiasts followed the rowers down the Tyne River. Thousands of spectators lined the river banks and watched from the shores. In Canada, hundreds crowded around bulletin boards and telegraph offices to await the news. When it came, flags were hung out; a feeling of accomplishment prevailed; a Canadian had shown the English how to do it! In the midst of all this euphoria, the Ottawa Free Press proposed that Hanlan be knighted.[29]

In Toronto, preparations were made for Hanlan's return home. From England, the champion arrived at New York, was received, and left for Buffalo, Lewiston and Niagara before reaching his native city. In each locale, Hanlan was royally welcomed. Three hundred of his townspeople including the official welcoming committee and a military band boarded the steamship "Chicora" in Toronto bound for Lewiston. It was the boat that Hanlan was to take from Lewiston to Toronto. As it steamed into Lewiston and Hanlan was making his way into the boarding area, the band exploded into its heroic greeting "See the Conquering Hero Comes".

The Chicora left for Toronto with its prized passenger and made course for Toronto. As it came close to its destination

> . . . other crowded steamers met the Chicora and dipped their flags, while all the passengers cheered. As the Chicora neared Toronto Island, it was convoyed by an increasing number of craft until the following flotilla was three miles long. When the Steamer entered the Gap and proceeded into Toronto Bay, the scene of many of Hanlan's victories, cheers rolled from the thousands who crowded every vantage point along the shore. While the hero stood on the roof of the pilot house and brass bands played their loudest, the musical strains were drowned by a cacophony of steamboat and locomotive whistles augmented by ear piercing crowd roars.[30]

The celebrations did not end there. Hanlan was taken home to prepare for the formal evening reception and presentations. It was a gala affair. Held in the Horticulture Gardens, it was attended by two thousand citizens. On his arrival, he was cheered, praised and presented with bouquets, flowers and a pledge of a purse of money from his fellow citizens.[31] It is interesting to note that shortly after this reception was held, a letter appeared to the editor of the Mail assailing the absurdity of a "torch light rabble being employed to meet our champion."[32] The writer stated that Hanlan was almost killed on that occasion. This latter statement was a further source of irritation. The "rabble" followed Hanlan as far as they could go before they had to pay admission. The money which was to have gone towards a 'homestead' for Hanlan was not raised, the gentleman suggesting that the "Toronto Boating Clubs should get together and arrange a suitable welcome home programme."[33]

Hanlan was respected and idolized by all, if newspaper coverage is any criterion. The fact that he was a professional was neither beneficial or detrimental to his association with "amateurs", for example. Just as he had been lionized after his victory, he was similarly feted before leaving England. A reception had been held for him at Albert Hall at that time. Along with a concert, "Mayor Beaty, on behalf of the Toronto Argonaut Rowing Club presented Hanlan with a cheque for one hundred dollars."[34] There seems to be no doubt that Hanlan's attraction stemmed from his skill as well as his integrity.

With respect to his skill, Hanlan pioneered the revolutionary sliding seat technique. English observers described his unorthodox manner as the "knees to nose style" while they mentioned that Hanlan used an eighteen inch slide as opposed to other professionals' twelve inches or less.[35] British sporting pages after being accustomed to winning rowing events at will and being the acknowledged leaders in that field, were now stating that if they wished to win matches, they must adopt the "American stroke"[36] of Ed Hanlan. They further declared that the sliding seat had revolutionized rowing; that the "Canadian had the advantage of patent roll-locks and other devices new to their competitors as well as a longer and more scientific study of rowing in its higher forms."[37]

Because Hanlan was not a giant of a man, at his full height of power he was five feet eight and three quarter inches tall, weighing only one hundred and fifty pounds, commentators were always looking for reasons why he continually defeated larger and heavier opponents. There were many theories. The sliding seat was, of course, one advantage. He was variously described as having a fine constitution and regular habits (although later in his career he was said to imbibe quite liberally) and a good temper, giving him many natural advantages. He was said to have studied the art of rowing in all its details. Possibly the biggest advantage that he enjoyed, however, was the Club. It was responsible for making him financially independent while looking after many tasks. While many of Hanlan's competitors were busy looking after a variety of energy wasting items, Hanlan was resting, his needs being attended to by a large and capable staff. They made his matches, found his stakes. His entourage included a "cook, a trainer to see to his physical wants, a boatkeeper to keep his craft in order and test all new improvements that came out, an umpire to attend to his interests during the race; in short all that the oarsman has to do is row. Everything else is attended for him."[38]

While the Robert Marshall Company of 47 King W., Toronto, was advertising a new song entitled: "Hanlan" and recommending that "every admirer of our Canadian hero should get a copy",[39] Hanlan was preparing to race an American, Jim Riley. The race was officially designated as a draw. Hanlan, in poor condition, was trailing Riley close to the finish line. Riley suddenly pulled up. It appeared that he had expected Hanlan to win but finding himself ahead and perhaps fearing that he would lose any money that he wagered on his opponent, he stopped rowing. The judges declared it a draw and ordered a re-race. Hanlan, however, "forfeited the money prizes rather than do so."[40]

Two months after the Riley race, Hanlan was rematched against Charles Courtney. "It appears that Hanlan's Club and the handlers of the Union Springs gentleman had arranged a trio of races between these two. Hanlan was to win the first at Lachine, drop the second to Courtney and win the third."[41] The site of the second race was to be Mayfield on the Chatauqua Lake in New York. An innovation was that a sponsor of the stakes appeared, a Mr. Soules, representing the Hop Bitters Manufacturing Co. of Rochester, New York. In order to reap the benefits of world wide publicity for his product, Mr. Soules was providing a prize of $6,000 to be awarded to the winner.

The articles of agreement signed, the rematch was eagerly awaited. Gamblers moved into the small New York town and started to establish their betting odds. A grandstand for 50,000 people was hastily arranged. Steamboats and river barges made preparations to follow the race; seats were sold for five dollars. A special railroad spur line was built to carry the thousands of rowing enthusiasts from Canada and the United States into the site area. An observation train, half a mile long, was hired to follow the race from the shore. Hotel rooms, normally selling for five dollars a week, were selling for twelve dollars a day. It was an expectant celebrating throng which awaited race day.

The race was not to be. The night prior to the race, Courtney's boat shed was broken into. His boat, along with a practise shell, was sawed in half. Accusations and counter accusations flew back and forth. Courtney was offered his choice of other shells; he wanted his own boat. Hanlan accused him of being afraid of the race and of sawing his own boat. Courtney countered by stating that Hanlan's people had done it, fearing that their sculler would lose the race and be shown up by a better man. "The story was the sensation of newspapers all over Europe and America. Who, they demanded, was responsible for the worst sports crime ever committed?"[42]

The ramifications continued for months. Rumours were rampant. Courtney sumpathizers purported that Hanlan had drunk too much before the race causing his backers to seek a postponement and faling this, to offer Courtney the whole purse if the match could be arranged. When these options were refused, they said, Hanlan's people destroyed the boat. The Canadian representatives repeated their side of the story in response to these charges; Courtney knew he was the inferior sculler, was afraid of losing and sawed his boat in half so as not to be embarrassed.

When Courtney refused to row in another boat, referee William Blaikie started the race without him, Hanlan rowing the five mile distance alone. The Hop Bitters man refused to pay the $6,000. He claimed that "there was no race. So how could there be a winner."[43] More fuel was added to the fires of the controversy when Courtney produced a letter from Soules, the Hop Bitters man, promising $2,000 win or lose. Suspicion was now thrown on the sponsor. Then Hanlan produced a letter from Courtney offering the Canadian champion $3,000 if he allowed the American to win. There seemed no end to the web of uncertainties.

At a time when pedestrianism and hippodroming, because of their gambling and unsavory influences, were becoming sources of concern for athletic authorities, the "Chatauqua fiasco (had) at least temporarily shaken public confidence in the genuine character of professional sculling matches."[44] The introduction of a third party, the Hop Bitters Manufacturing Co., a commercial concern, was assailed as an underhanded attempt to attain much advertising "without the premium passing into other hands."[45] In its year end review of the 1879 Canadian sporting scene, the Toronto Mail firmly declared that the Hop Bitters man was at fault and Courtney was definitely bribed. As for Hanlan,

> . . . be it said that no shady transaction has yet been charged against him in connection with the Chataugua affair. Although some of his friends doubtlessly acted foolish in their anxiety to get the Union Springs sculler to the starting line, the champion's acts have been thoroughly straightforward and above board. His evident earnestness in seeking to secure a fair contest, even at this late period of the year, has revived his popularity. Hanlan's brilliant achievements in England relieve the Canadian record of the year's sports and will not soon be forgotten by his fellow citizens.[46]

The New York World was not convinced. After a scheduled rematch between Hanlan and Courtney for December on the Potomac River was cancelled, it was declared that "perhaps Hanlan and Courtney will row a race someday. Life is short and there is another and better world but water may be scarce there."[47]

Finally, articles of agreement were again signed between the two archrivals. Provision was made to insure that a winner would be determined if one of the scullers did not start. The race was set for May 19, 1880, the site — the Potomac River in Washington. Again intense enthusiasm surrounded the rematch. Thousands of interested and curious spectators crowded into Washington. Courtney, the larger of the two, boasted that he would win easily because he had more power in his arms. Perhaps because of this he was the favorite of the people who bet an estimated $100,000 on the match.[48] Fifteen hundred Canadians made the journey to the American capital, adding to the gaity of the day. It was a scene to behold:

> By 2 p.m., streams of hacks, buses, express wagons, private carriages, grocers' vehicles and, in fact, all sorts of conveyances from splendid four-in-hands to diminutive donkey carts were making their way to the river front. Every streetcar was packed with humanity . . . many were clinging to the sides and even perched high on the roof. Besides those, thousands were walking, until it seemed all Washington and its visitors were on parade. There were also included many clever pickpockets disguised as clergymen and students.[49]

An estimated 100,000 spectators watched the event. It was such an important spectacle that many businesses closed; both Houses of Congress adjourned. United States President Hayes joined the British ambassador in watching the race from the vantage point of a steamer. At six o' clock, the two racers lined up at the starting point; the long awaited match began. Hanlan quickly built up a lead. After one mile, he was ahead by twelve lengths. At the two and a half mile mark, Hanlan was so far ahead that Courtney stopped rowing, turned around and started to row back toward the starting point. To some, it appeared that he was somehow in the lead. The finish and the starting lines were one and the same and Courtney was rowing in his return lane. Contradictory reports were telegraphed back to Toronto where many thousands were waiting, watching and receiving information after each mile. It appeared that Courtney was in the lead. Hanlan, however, put on such spurt that he passed the returning Courtney and touched off a chain of celebrations throughout the harbour. "Instantly, steamboats whistled shrill greetings; thousands cheered the little Canuck and floating red balloons signalled a Hanlan victory."[50]

One week later, Hanlan rowed James Riley on the same course. It was a grudge match. Riley had been flaunting Hanlan ever since their draw. The Canadian "soundly trounced him by a quarter of a mile - one of the few times Hanlan won a race by such a galling margin."[51] Coming so soon after his race with Courtney, however, it was probably too much for Hanlan's constitution. Less than a month after this, Hanlan was unable to finish a race at Providence. Convinced that a rest was in order, he did nothing but relax for the next two months. In the meantime, his challenge to the holder of the World's Championship, Edward Trickett the Australian, was accepted. "Two championship trophies and $2,000 hung in the balance" in addition to the adulation of racing enthusiasts on three continents.[52] As preparations were made for the affair, ramifications were still being felt from the Courtney races. In the United States, the National Association of Amateur Oarsmen voted at their ninth annual meeting to "debar clubs which shall issue or accept a challenge for the purpose of holding a professional race."[53] The claim was later made that "single sculling, once a prime favorite among American sports, never recovered from the stench of the repeated Hanlan-Courtney hippodromes.

It dropped out of the headlines and presently out of the news, the only major sport in history to have been killed by scandal."[54]

Perhaps that might have been the case in the United States. Certainly it was not so in Canada where Hanlan was generally absolved from any wrong doing. Nor was it the case in England where preparations were under way for the "championship of the world" race featuring the two "colonials", Trickett, the Australian, and Hanlan, the Canadian. The contrast between the two oarsmen was in keeping with their being from opposite sides of the world. The Australian was a full six feet six inches in height and towered over his five foot eight and three quarter inch rival. However, Hanlan was a well conditioned athlete, "the muscles of his slim compact body so well conditioned that as one English fan recorded: 'the more clothes he took off the bigger he got'."[55] Other Hanlan advantages were his sliding seat technique which "had the effect of lengthening his arms and stroke, giving him a longer sweep."[56]

In effect, Hanlan was responsible for developing a new style of rowing based on his innovation. However when his new style was measured against the older accepted methods based on less advanced techniques, the experts were at a loss. One who was unable to explain Hanlan's skill, dubbed him the "little giant" and stated with some amazement: "he humps like the patient camel, slivers out, doesn't go through, hunches and spats the water, but the boat travels."[57] The New York based newspaper Spirit of the Times believed it had the answer. It "discovered" that there were concealed bellows in Hanlan's boat. When pressed by his foot, this imagined anticipation of jet propulsion was sufficient, it was said, to puff him powerfully along.[58] But if Hanlan's strength and technique were such that "his boat seemed to be pulled through the water on a string instead of lurching along",[59] his psychological machinations contributed almost as much to his incredible string of victories. Because these single sculls races were held over a distance of four to six miles, strategy or a race plan played an important role. It was necessary to have a sense of pacing, a knowledge of when to make your move and the strength to carry it out, all the time racing against your opponent. In Hanlan's case, his sense of timing was such that he normally rowed just fast enough to win.

> But his sense of psychology was even sharper. He was so adroit at embarassing, annoying and even humiliating his opponents that he might have been known not only as Canada's first world champion but also Canada's, and perhaps the world's, first true Gamesman.[60]

His 1880 championship race with Trickett for the World's Championship is a study in "Gamesmanship". Prior to the November 15 race, London newspapers were writing of Trickett's skills; the powerful Australian had defeated an impressive list of challengers. As the odds on the race increased to the point where they were two to one in favour of Trickett as a result of English writers concentrating on his skills, various newspapers started writing of the challenger's exploits and emphasizing his fine conditioning. Meanwhile, in Toronto, "two days before the race was to take place in England, Yonge Street, for two blocks was jammed with people endeavouring to buy drafts at the Bank of Montreal."[61] The money, $42,000, was wired to England by Mr. H.P.J. Good to back Toronto's "boy in blue", a name Hanlan had been christened with by many newspapers because of his familiar blue rowing shirt. With the influx of the Canadian money, odds on the race shifted abruptly and at race time on Thursday were listed as two to one for Hanlan.

At half past twelve, the two claimants started off on their four mile and four hundred and forty yard race. It was no contest. At Hammersmith Bridge, roughly a third of the way down the course, Hanlan led by three lengths. Suddenly, he stopped rowing. Trickett pulled even. Above the rowers, the bridge "groaned beneath a dense mass of excited people who cheered as if each was gifted with lungs of brass."[62] One hundred thousand spectators lined the shores of the Thames and watched as Hanlan suddenly spurted into a three length lead once again. It was at this time that "the enormous crowds cheered themselves hoarse and smiling Ned drew near the bank and thanked them."[63] Farther down the course, he stopped rowing once again, picked up his oars and quickly opened up a three length lead.

Slightly more than fifteen minutes into the race, Hanlan stopped once again, this time to talk with some spectators watching from a boat. Among them was William Elliott whom Hanlan had defeated the previous year. It had been a year since the two had seen each other and it seems that they had some catching up of news to do. Starting up again, Hanlan approached the Bull's Head Hotel, the headquarters of the Canadian contingent. Again, the Canadian stopped, removed his handkerchief and waved it to the spectators. Pulling away again, he was rowing at full speed opening up a lead once again. Suddenly, he collapsed and slumped forward, his oars drifting. Trickett, straining to take advantage, was within a length. Abruptly, Hanlan sprang to action, waved to the crowd and pulled away once more. In the final yards of the race, Hanlan was rowing consecutive strokes, first with his right oar, then with his left, the boat zig-zagging to the finish line. "One spectator remarked, 'I fully expected him to stand up in his boat and dance the Highland Fling'."[64]

His victory won, the new champion of the world was widely acclaimed. English critics stated that Hanlan's rowing was "as nearly as possible what one can imagine to be perfection."[65] In Toronto, a riot almost broke out in the midst of all the celebrating. Unknown to the Toronto public, "the bookies in England only paid off once a week each Monday. Mr. Good made his reputation as an orator on those horrible intervening days, endeavouring to account for his inability to pay off the speculators."[66]

Within one week of this contest, an international sculling race took place on the Thames. Hanlan entered, later withdrawing so as to provide for more competition. He declared that he would race the winner. Three months later, he successfully defended his title and proved his point by defeating the winner Elias Laycock. If the Courtney races had dampened American enthusiasm for rowing it was certainly not in evidence as judged by the following article.

> Edward Hanlan, the foremost sculler of the world is now in the mid-Atlantic and will reach New York City early next week. His history reads like a leaf from some romance in the middle ages. Not yet 26 years old, he can now write after his name: Champion of Canada, Champion of the United States, Champion of America, Champion of England and Champion of the World. Each of these titles has been fairly won in manly contests and there seems to be no further laurels left for him. Other oarsmen have been champions of this or that but the Toronto boy is champion of all champions, the aquatic king. He will be welcomed to New York City by a delegation of oarsmen and afterwards be formally received and banqueted by the Atalanta Boat Club which was an established amateur rowing organization years before Hanlan was born. Toronto will greet him right royally and the empty honors of torch light processions and speechmaking will be supplanted by substantial tokens of esteem. We shall no doubt hear the usual wail of the salivation of brawn above brain but the Jeremiahs must remember that while we have a large crop of moral and intellectual champions, there is but one Edward Hanlan.[67]

At a time when amateur organizations and officials were becoming increasingly restrictive regarding "professionals", there was no such compunction where Hanlan was concerned. As mentioned above, the well established Atalanta Club of New York hosted the Canadian professional during his visit to that city. On arriving in Toronto and the inevitable reception, a number of awards were made to Hanlan, one by the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen. Mr. Henry O'Brien, president of that body, presented the champion with a superb clock with bronze side pieces and the following inscription: "Presented to Edward Hanlan, Champion Oarsman of The World by the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen." Above the stage was Hanlan's name in tasteful flower letters a foot in height, the gift of the Toronto Lacrosse Club. In his remarks, O'Brien "alluded in graceful terms to the straightforward course which Hanlan had ever taken. This, he said, had left remaining, in his case, little of the ordinary distinctions between a professional and an amateur oarsman."[68]

As far as the CAAO was concerned, even though a person rowed for money and was characterized as a professional, it did not necessarily follow that he was a person of ill repute to be avoided. It was later noted that Hanlan had been presented with some of the CAAO's surplus funds and "had deserved this for several reasons. He had aided the Association liberally at their first regatta by giving $100 worth of cups and prizes."[69] More importantly, it was noted, Hanlan's greatest contribution was to rowing in general, "raising it from the mire into which Courtney and others like him had dragged it."[70]

There is no question that the sport of rowing was at its peak in Canada. Hanlan's successes had done much to maintain and sustain interest in the sport. When Toronto held a Citizen's Regatta in September of 1881, almost every great oarsman in the world was attracted. "It marked the peak of popularity in rowing precipitated by Hanlan."[71] The Toronto oarsman was personified as "a shining light to rising generations in the example set by him of manly culture and avoiding all that was mean or dishonourable."[72]

The next year, 1882, the champion again travelled to England. His feats of athletic excellence continued. London journals, which had previously referred to his rowing prowess as "worth travelling a hundred miles to see",[73] continued to look favourably on him. His antics continued and in his race against R.W. Boyd, Hanlan was engaging in such acts as "blowing his nose and using his oars in comical fashion."[74] English critics acclaimed his rowing "as nearly as possible what one can imagine to perfection."[75] Hanlan prepared for another rematch with Edward Trickett. The race for five hundred pounds and the Championship of The World was no contest. If Edward Trickett had in any way been overawed by his first meeting with the "boy in blue", he must have been physically and mentally subdued after the second meeting. With almost a full minute and a half lead, Hanlan crossed the finish line to retain the championship. Having done this, he wheeled around, rowed back down the course toward Trickett and on reaching him, spinned around and once more beat his opponent to the finish line.

Hanlan was by this time running out of suitable opponents. To keep himself occupied and also in front of the public eye, he occasionally performed as a trickster on enclosed bodies of water. "His most outstanding demonstration was that of rowing with only one oar straight across the Thames and back."[76] During 1883, Hanlan twice more defended his world title, winning his races with little effort. With North America and England offering little in the way of competition, the confident Canadian travelled to Australia. It appears that the Australians too were in awe of this conqueror of Laycock and Trickett. The Sydney correspondent of the London Sporting Life reported:

> Ever since Hanlan arrived in Sydney six weeks ago, he has been publicly receptioned, lionized, dinnered and patronized until the business has become surfeiting. The Postmaster-General, Mr. J.W. Trickett (not old Ned), the Sheriff, Mr. Charles Cowper, and others, have feted him until his digestion must have been sorely taxed while his lungs have been constantly kept in play by innumerable speeches which he has made. The Canterbury Races furnished perhaps the scene of his greatest triumph. The Stewards prevailed upon him to honour them by presenting the bracelets to the owners of the winning

> horses and from the hurrahing and clapping of hands and waving of ladies handkerchiefs, it was plain that no greater reception could have been accorded to a great statesman, warrior or public benefactor.[77]

Having described the reception for this Canadian from the other side of the world, the reporter wondered aloud as to what the people's reaction would be to Hanlan if he lost his title. He suggested that "this self same Hanlan, if defeated, by Beach or any other oarsman would in all probability be hooted or hissed. So much for public favour in Sydney."[78] Hanlan, after winning his race against Laycock, lost his title to a two hundred pound blacksmith, William Beach. Instead of receiving the abuse of the Sydney people, Hanlan seemed to be even more popular. A ring, containing twenty four one-half carat diamonds and four large rubies was presented to Mrs. Hanlan by a wealthy squatter and sheep raiser from Sydney. Another ring containing twenty "good sized" diamonds and a large sapphire was presented to the Canadian from the citizens of Sydney. The Mercantile Rowing Club of Melbourne presented Mrs. Hanlan with a pearl studded bracelet while the crew of the United States steamer Iroquois gave the popular oarsman a horseshoe diamond pin and a pair of solitary diamond buttons. Besides the many gifts from the citizens of Australia, Hanlan and Beach received purses of $3,000 and $15,000 respectively from the satisfied spectators after their second race on the Parmatta River. As far as Hanlan was concerned:

> The generosity of the Australian people has not been surpassed in the world. I met and was dined and wined by all the nobility and state officials and big accounts of the country. My professional standing gave me entrance to all of the public parks, buildings and all of the theatres.[79]

On Hanlan's return home to Toronto, bereft of his world title, the tumultuous crowds were no more. A testamonial dinner was held for him at his own Hotel on the Island. There was a feeling, accurate as it turned out, that Hanlan had won his last world championship race. He had been caught up to and surpassed by a better rower, less flamboyant, but better. There were no regrets. Hanlan had been at the top of his field for almost ten years and as the Toronto Mail stated:

> Hanlan has made Toronto known to all parts of the world and has never, while occupying a position which is open to the strongest temptations, committed any act which would bring discredit upon himself or upon the city of which he is a native.[80]

Ed Hanlan continued to row competitively as well as give exhibitions of his skill until 1897. "In recognition of Hanlan's great services to his country, the government presented him with a section of Toronto Isle known as Hanlan's Point."[81] He built his hotel there, later selling it to move to Toronto proper where he became an alderman. He died in January of 1908, a civic burial accorded to him.

At a period in Canada's history when the concept of "Muscular Christianity" was very much in vogue and worthy of pursuit, Hanlan was described as never having uttered "a vulgar word. He was known to have never been party to a suggestive story. Morally, he was the cleanest man . . . ."[82] At Exhibition Park in Toronto, overlooking Lake Ontario, stands a twenty foot statue of Hanlan bearing the following inscription:

> Most renowned sportsman of any age, whose victorious career has no parallel in the annals of sport. Victor in 300 consecutive races. His achievements are all the more worthy of commemoration by his display of that spirit of true sportsmanship which is held in honour in all fields of sport.

FOOTNOTES TO PART ONE, III.

[1] *Toronto Colonist*, September 6, 1860, cited in the *Toronto Mail*, October 12, 1878.

[2] Robert S. Hunter, *Rowing In Canada Since 1848*. Hamilton: Davis Lisson Ltd., 1833, p. 27.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 28.

[6] Jack Batten, *Champions*, Toronto: New Press, 1971, p. 52.

[7] Hunter, *op. cit*., p. 28.

[8] *Toronto Mail*, September 21, 1877.

[9] *Toronto Mail*, October 17, 1877.

[10] *Toronto Mail*, May 9, 1878.

[11] *Toronto Mail*, May 15, 1878.

[12] *Ibid*.

[13] *Ibid*., July 1, 1878.

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] *Toronto Mail*, July 2, 1878.

[16] *Ibid*.

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] *Ibid*., July 3, 1878.

[19] *Toronto Globe*, October 4, 1878.

[20] *Ibid*., October 5, 1878.

[21] A.E. Cox, "Sport In Canada 1867-1900". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969, p. 301.

[22] Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[23] *Toronto Mail*, December 6, 1878.

[24] *Ibid.*, December 10, 1878.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Toronto Mail*, December 18, 1878.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] H.H. Roxborough, *One Hundred Not Out*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966, p. 198.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

[32]

[33] *Toronto Mail*, June 25, 1879.

[34] *Ibid.*, January 22, 1879.

[35] *Toronto Globe*, June 19, 1879.

[36] *New York World*, cited in the *Toronto Mail*, May 10, 1879.

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Toronto Mail*, July 12, 1879.

[40] Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Jack Batten, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[43] H.H. Roxborough, *Great Days In Canadian Sport*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1957, p. 10.

[44] *Toronto Mail*, November 1, 1879.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Ibid.

[47] New York World, cited in the Toronto Mail, November 18, 1879.

[48] Roxborough, One Hundred Not Out, op. cit., p. 180.

[49] Toronto Globe, cited in Roxborough, ibid., p. 181.

[50] Roxborough, Great Days, op. cit., p. 17.

[51] Hunter, op. cit., p. 31.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Toronto Mail, July 10, 1880.

[54] S.H. Adams, "The Scandal That Killed A Sport", Holiday. Philadelphia: The Curtis Publishing Co., August, 1951, p. 71.

[55] Peter Gzowski, "Ned Hanlan The First World Champion Of Anything", Great Canadian Sports Stories. Toronto: Mclelland and Stewart Ltd., 1965, p. 65.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Adams, op. cit., p. 68.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Gzowski, op. cit., p. 65.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Hunter, op. cit., p. 32.

[62] Gzowski, op. cit., p. 65.

[63] Hunter, op. cit., p. 32.

[64] Ibid., p. 33.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., p. 32.

[67] Spirit of the Times, cited in the Toronto Mail, February 28, 1881.

[68] Toronto Mail, March 5, 1881.

[69] Toronto Mail, April 2, 1881.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Cox, op. cit., p. 307.

[72] Toronto Mail, March 5, 1881.

[73] London Sporting Life cited in Gzowski, op. cit., p. 66.

[74] Cox, op. cit., p. 309.

[75] Hunter, op. cit., p. 33.

[76] Hunter, op. cit., p. 33.

[77] London Sporting Times cited in the Toronto Mail, June 25, 1884.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Toronto Mail, June 6, 1885.

[80] Toronto Mail, June 10, 1885.

[81] Hunter, op. cit., p. 34.

[82] Ibid.

PART TWO

A COMMERCIAL BASIS FOR SPORT

1884-1932

I

CONFLICTING TRENDS IN SPORT 1884-1902

> As long as the sporting clubs remained essentially social in nature, they remained the exclusive preserves of the upper segments of society; it was with the growth of extensive inter-club competition and the gradual switch in focus to the competitive aspects of the sport that there was a possibility of the clubs opening their membership to physically skilled individuals from other social groupings.[1]

Metcalfe's statement is certainly true of sport in nineteenth century Canada. The premium that clubs, who were previously concerned with social aspects, were placing on skilled "members" was a major reason in attempting to define limits as to who could participate with whom. What had been implicitly enforceable because of the length of the working day, or, indeed, the fact that one had to work at all, was in the process of becoming specifically legislated. It was an exercise in attempting to define, in workable terms, who was an amateur and who was a professional. And yet, throughout this period, it is evident that whereas the trend to amateur competition is prevalent, other factors were such that conditions lent themselves to the development of more, and, increasingly higher, levels of competition.

Amateur Consolidation

When the Amateur Athletic Association was formed in Canada on April 11, 1884, from some twenty clubs in Ontario and Quebec, there were a number of delegates from cricket, football, lacrosse and bicycling groups who appointed representatives to the meeting "under the misapprehension that the Association was to cover all sports."[2] It was stated that since Canadian football, cricket, lacrosse, rowing and the cyclists were covered by their various associations, this newly formed association was simply endeavoring to bring track and field under similar control.

During the first years of the new Association, an attempt was made to deal with applications for reinstatment to the ranks of amateur competition. The main task, however, seemed to revolve around the organization of track and field athletics, specifically annual championships. When the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association asked to hold its cross country and steeple chase championship under the auspices of the AAA of C, "the request was granted and in so doing the precedent of obtaining sanction for the championships had been set."[3]

By 1886, clubs from Halifax had become affiliated with the AAA of C, thus three of Canada's six provinces were represented by actual membership. The fact that the Association exerted influence over the other provinces, however, is illustrated by the fact that applications for reinstatement of athletes were coming from Prince Edward Island[4] and British Columbia.[5]

In an effort to provide for a variety of amateur competition, the amateur championships of 1887 included athletes from New York clubs who, in turn, "were joined by members of the Spartan Harriers Club of England."[6] These three countries being bound by similar traditions and a common language, provided a unique opportunity for international competition with a minima of cultural difficulties. In that same year, it was deemed advisable to strike a sub-committee to revise the Canadian Association's laws so as "to conform as much as possible to the English and American laws."[7]

The first sign of any major dissatisfaction with the Association came in 1888, just four years after its formation. Eastern Canadian clubs withdrew to form their own Maritime Athletic Association. The latter did not become affiliated with the AAA of C, thus leaving only Ontario and Quebec represented in the older body. It's quite possible that the formation of the Maritimes Athletic Association, its non-affiliation with the older established Association and the latter's refusal to reinstate two athletes from the Halifax area were all inter-related.

In 1890, in an attempt to increase the number of affiliated members, the Association "communicated with one hundred clubs and associations with no apparent results."[8]

It was at this time as well that the association "as authorities on the subject of 'amateurism' ruled on a number of cases of alleged professionalism in lacrosse."[9] One of these dealt with Jacob Leroux of Cornwall. He was suspended "being a professional, and also an Indian, and therefore not eligible to play on a white team."[10]

It was evident that the Association, by ruling on lacrosse matters, was moving from its original intention of regulating only sports which did not have their own associations. As well, when one considers the various requests for rulings and reinstatements coming in from Manitoba, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, it is evident that leadership in the area of amateur athletics was being expected. This was bound to produce conflict within the Association itself. Some of the members, of course, were not interested in an organization encompassing a great number of clubs of various backgrounds; others preferred to be in the position of regulating as many clubs as possible. These two viewpoints were illustrated by the following examples: When at the tenth annual meeting, Charles J. Foy of Perth, Ontario, was reinstated as an amateur, Montreal based executive members objected. The decision was therefore held in abeyance until the September 30th meeting where it was subsequently re-affirmed. As a result, Montreal Amateur Athletic Association officials were instructed by telegraph to decline all nominations for office. Obviously, the Montreal group had a concept of amateurism which was quite different from the majority of the membership. The meeting was adjourned for a period of four weeks. When it was reconvened, "the matter must have been resolved as G.L. Paton and W.S. Weldon of the MAAA were elected to the positions of President and Secretary of the AAA of C, respectively for the coming year."[11]

On the other hand, in conjunction with the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen, the AAA of C had cards printed with their corresponding definitions of an "Amateur". The card was displayed "throughout the stations on the entire line of the Grand Trunk Railway."[12] Since it was against CPR policy to do likewise, the Association mailed copies "to every available RR shop, factory, mill or club house, from Halifax to Vancouver."[13]

That the power of the AAA of C was influential in non-track and field sports was even more greatly evident in 1895. During that year, a change was initiated in the notion of an "amateur" by the Canadian Wheelmen's Association. Class A cyclists would be designated as "strict amateurs; Class B, who were employed by cycle firms; and Class C, true professionals for which Cycling was a livelihood."[14] The Amateur Athletic Association declared the concept of the Class B amateur to be a violation of their amateur code. Before the recommendation to form a committee to discuss the situation with the CWA was implemented, the latter body "settled this question satisfactorily by abolishing Class B and making their definition of an amateur in accord"[15] with the AAA of C. This was so even though the Canadian Wheelmen's Association, itself a large governing body, was not affiliated with the AAA of C.

Impetus for the movement to amateurism was also being provided by international events. The Paris Conference on amateurism in 1894, followed by the re-emergence of the Olympic games in 1896 was of particular significance in this regard. These events helped to reinforce in the minds of the people that the advocates of amateurism were world wide. Perhaps because of that influence, the Association revised its constitution and by-laws with the objective of advancing and improving all athletic sports as well as promoting physical exercise and physical education.[16]

With the emphasis on an increased role in sports, the Association attempted to attract every club in Canada to its ranks. Thus the original gentlemanly notions of amateurism were obscured; explicit regulations were now required:

> If during any athletic contest under the rule of the Amateur Athletic Association, a competitor shall conduct himself in a manner unbecoming a gentleman, or is offensive to the officials, spectators or competitors, the referees shall have the power to disqualify him from further competition at the meeting, and if he thinks the offence worthy of further punishment, shall

> promptly make a detailed report to the executive committee.[17]

With respect to the matter of re-instatement of an athlete to the ranks of the amateurs, there was a definite prescription to be followed in 1896. Immediately, the president appointed a sub-committee of three investigators who in turn were to submit a report to the secretary within ten days. It was the duty of the secretary to forward, by registered letter, a copy of the committee report to the members of the executive committee. Each member of this latter committee was to notify the secretary within ten days of this agreement or disagreement with the report. As each reply was likened to a vote, it was necessary to have a quorum of three-quarters of the replies so as to decide the case. If the person whose standing was being questioned, wished to have a hearing, ten days notice was to be given to him. At the meeting, he could attend, make a statement and had to answer all questions directed to him by the committee.[18]

As the nineteenth century came to a close in Canada, the number of athletes barred from amateur competition sharply increased. Perhaps because of the prosperity of the country in the 1890's, whole clubs were accused, convicted and suspended from all amateur competition. Teams from the Ottawa Capital Lacrosse Club and the Winnipeg Olympic Athletic Clubs were two such organizations which were "professionalized" because their members had accepted money for playing their sport. Whereas in 1884, the number of athletes in search of reinstatement to the amateur status, was nine, of which five were successful, in the year 1897-1898, the cases of forty six individuals were examined. Of these latter, nine were reinstated.[19]

Perhaps heartened by the world wide amateur movement, but more likely a result of the greater mobility of athletes made possible by the increased and improved technology, the AAA of C formed an alliance with the AAU of the United States. It was an attempt "to control amateur sport throughout the continent" and to that end, one of the Canadian Association's members was appointed as a member of the American Union's board of governors. It was most probable that because of this alliance the official name of the Canadian body became, in 1898, the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union.[21]

By 1902, the constitution of the CAAU was again changed. Where previously club affiliation was solicited, "the emphasis had shifted to gaining the affiliation of national sports governing bodies."[22] A conscious effort was being made to bring under direct control the various sports governing bodies of the country. By 1900, there were eleven such bodies in Canada: Lacrosse was being controlled by the National Amateur Lacrosse Association, the Canadian Lacrosse Association and the Western Canadian Lacrosse Association; Soccer by the Dominion Football Association;

Rowing by the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen; cycling by the Canadian Wheelmen's Association; football by the Canadian Rugby Union; hockey by the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada; skating by the Amateur Skating Association of Canada; tennis by the Canadian Lawn Tennis Association; cricket by the Canadian Cricket Association and canoeing by the Canadian Canoeing Association.[23]

At its initial meeting, the stated aim of the Association had been to control and regulate only track and field events. In 1902, the Union stated that it claimed jurisdiction, in addition to track and field, to "basket bass [sic], bicycling, bowling (ten pins), boxing, hockey, fencing, football, gymnastics, handball, wrestling and rowing."[24]

At a time when the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union was expanding its self-given mandate to govern sport in Canada so as to keep it "free from the taint of money", technology was such that it was becoming increasingly possible for highly skilled athletes to compete with each other on a regular basis. Inevitably, it was to lead to an alternative to the amateur restrictions.

Technology and The Foundation for Professional Sport

The increasingly effective role of technology and its influence on Canadian sport has been well documented by Jobling.[25] It is, therefore, not felt to be necessary to reproduce in this study his excellent work. Rather, general trends and developments will serve to illustrate the point that the increasing technological changes during the nineteenth century made it more possible for competition on the sporting fields to occur on a regular basis.

With respect to transportation, the first innovation to have consequence on Canadian sport was the steamboat. After having made its appearance in Canadian waters in 1809, it was used "as the century progressed by rowing enthusiasts in order to obtain a closer and better view of the events."[26] The use of steamboats as a means of transportation to and from events as well as for spectating purposes "was a tremendous asset to the development of rowing as a sport because it enabled people to obtain a closer view of the competition and see many more intricacies of the art than from the shores or banks."[27]

As significant as the steamboat was, however, it was the coming of the railways that made feasible inter-city competition and "led to a spectacular rise in the amount of sporting activity."[28] There was little progress in the building of railway lines during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century but the passage of the Guarantee Act of 1849, wherein the government provided aid to railways over seventy miles in length, had a catalytic effect. By 1867, the major cities of Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes were linked by rail.[29] Subsequent innovations, such as improved fuels and the use of snow ploughs served to narrow distances even more. At Confederation, the Pullman Coach, a specially constructed and equipped car for sleeping, made its appearance on the Canadian scene. Its major contribution was that passengers were able to travel in comfort and arrived at their destination more refreshed.

By the 1890's one could travel from Halifax to Vancouver in six days; from Montreal to Toronto in 13 hours and from Montreal to Ottawa in two and a quarter hours. The speed of travel combined with the special rates available to groups were such that many athletic teams were able to schedule contests against teams from hitherto prohibitive distances. Fredericton curlers were able to travel and play St. John on one day and continue on to play St. Andrew's on the next.[30] An Edmonton Curling Club was able to travel to Winnipeg for a bonspiel at a special return rate of twenty-five dollars.[31] Baseball leagues were formed; Toronto, Hamilton and London competing in the International Baseball Association in the 1880's despite the fact that the majority of teams were from the United States. The speed and reliability of the train was such that it was possible by the 1890's for an American hockey team to schedule and play a game in Montreal on Friday evening, travel to Toronto and play again on Saturday.[32] In a way the railway advanced the change from clubs being mainly a social agency to one of being linked with competition; "the earliest clubs formed in Canada were in the towns and cities of Ontario connected by the railways."[33]

The power of the railroads to widen the appeal of a particular sporting event was not lost on the promoters. Prior to one of Hanlan's races in 1878 against Wallace Ross, the railroad company paid commissions to the Hanlan Club to arrange for the competitors to travel from Toronto to Barrie. The trip was well advertised, the Northern Railway train stopping at every station along the way where "large crowds were assembled, all anxious to catch a glimpse of the champion and his rival from New Brunswick."[34] During 1878, Hanlan had received $3,900 from the railroads for such appearances.[35]

Transportation advances within the cities also contributed to the development of sport, serving to allow sections of the population to enjoy competitions in other parts of the city. Street railway companies, using electric power made their first commercial appearance in Windsor in 1886. By the 1890's, many cities were similarly equipped. For example the city of Montreal had completely changed over to electrically powered street cars by 1894. In Toronto, it was reported that in anticipation of the opening of the new baseball grounds and the subsequent game between the locals and the New York Metropolitans, the Street Railway Company announced its intention of "granting transfer tickets and doing their best to accommodate the public."[36]

Naturally as modes of transportation improved, so too did communication, especially the type which depended upon advances in carrying agents. At the turn of the century when communication was governed by the speed of travellers from one locale to another, the mails or the press, the deciding factor influencing the time lag between the event and the report making it common knowledge, was the speed of a person's legs or that of his horse or perhaps the stroke of his oars. As the century progressed, however, and the transportation advances previously mentioned became a reality, the time lag decreased. This, coupled with advances in information gathering and disseminating techniques, greatly increasedthe knowledge and anticipation, on the part of the common person, towards sporting events.

For almost a full century after newspapers made their apperance in Canada, they were dependent upon government announcements and the like for sources of revenue. In the eighteenth century, there were few references to sports and games and pastimes. "Wooden framed, hand operated, flat bed presses made printing tedious and the mechanical means was so time-consuming. The result was that only basic and important new items, government notices and advertising were included in the newspapers."[37] When an event which did occur in another part of the colonies and was thought to have some interest elsewhere, news coverage was dependent on an eyewitness account. That account would only find its way to another newspaper for example, if the viewer travelled or sent a report through the mails to the newspaper's site, or if the newspaper was able to obtain, again through the mails, the original newspaper's version. For example, a regatta took place in Halifax on August 31 and yet was not reported in the Montreal Gazette until September 26 of that year.

One way of narrowing this time lag was provided by the invention of the telegraph. First used publicly outside Canada in 1844, it made its appearance shortly after in Canada and by 1847, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton and London were all linked with the new service.[38] By Confederation, most towns and cities in the Dominion were connected not only with each other but also with England and many parts of the United States. It was now possible for coverage of events in England to appear in Canadian newspapers one day after the holding of the event. By 1885, "upon completion of the Canadian Pacific's transcontinental rail and wire lines, the first all-Canadian telegraph service was established between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans."[39] Only seven years previously, the first telephone exchange was built at Hamilton and this innovation, too, added greatly to the dimension of sports reporting. With the advent of the telephone (there were more than 52,000 in Canada by 1900), "arrangements for sporting events, games and matches were discussed without delay and this served to promote better organization as well as to increase the number of competitions between clubs."[40]

To effectively handle the greater amount of available information, new improvements were necessary for the printing industry. Presses being developed made use of steam, gasoline or electricity; paper was developed from wood pulp instead of rags; new methods of type setting were introduced. Each of these inventions had an influence on the increasing number of publications available to the population. At Confederation Canada had 200 newspapers, 21 of them daily; "by 1900 there were more than 1200: 121 dailies, 804 weeklies, 202 monthlies and 99 tri- or semi-weeklies, bi-monthlies or quarterlies."[41] The increasing amount of space devoted to sport lent to its acceptance and promotion by the public at large.

While public tastes were being exposed to an increasing amount of sporting competitions and information, it should be pointed out that the size of the public was increasing as well. It was also being arranged differently. Canada, in 1867, was predominantly rural. By the end of the nineteenth century the process of industrialization and urbanization was in progress. In 1867, less than twenty per cent of Canada's population of three and one half million lived in the cities. By 1901, thirty five per cent of almost five million were urban dwellers.[42] In the same time span, the twenty cities with a population of more than five thousand at Confederation had increased to sixty-two, twenty four having a population of more than 10,000 as opposed to the eight previously.[43]

The increasing number of cities and the subsequent increased opportunities for competition had a catalytic effect on the codifying of uniform rules for various games, specifically hockey, lacrosse and football. The concentration of many thousands of possible spectators into population centres and the accessibility made possible by improved transportation served to make sport dependent "upon the support of urban citizens, the spectators as well as the participants."[44] At the end of the nineteenth century, "the urbanization brought forth the need for commercialized spectator sports, while industrialization gradually provided the standard of living and leisure time so vital to support all forms of recreation."[45] In other words, as the country grew, commercial sport was a natural by-product. There was, however, such a negative connotation between money and sport, at least in the minds of many governing bodies, that a major change in attitudes towards the "professional" had to take place.

The public image projected by the athlete branded as a "professional" was that he was a "cheat" who, at times, travelled under an assumed name in order to bilk unsuspecting sportsmen, or, who was working with gamblers and was therefore liable to "fix" a race so as to realize a betting coup.

In short, in this period immediately following the birth of the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada, the "professional", while considered to be an athlete who competed for money no matter what the sum, he was also considered to be a person of low moral character. The term was a description of one's soul. As a result, much of the period from 1884 to the turn of the new century was noteworthy for its development of the foundations of commercialized sport on a sound basis so as to insure, to the public, the integrity of the commercialized sport and its breed of "professional" athletes.

Commercial Sport and the Professional Athlete

With the exception of rowing, baseball was the first sport in Canada to be characterized as "professional", the American influence of Harry Wright and the Cincinnati Red Stockings having been a direct influence. With no formally organized leagues until 1877, a year after the formation of the Canadian Baseball Association, much of the baseball centred around border areas. Another direct influence was the railroads; cities like London, Guelph, Woodstock, Hamilton, Toronto, Kingston in Central Canada and Winnipeg and the northern United States all competing against each other because of the ease of travel provided by the railroads. In central Canada, the London Tecumsehs of 1876 "became what is best described as an independent professional baseball team."[46] Baseball clubs at that time would receive invitations to play throughout the United States, guarantees being provided against expenses and railroad times provided along with the names and addresses of various teams which could be played along the route. After one such trip to New Haven, the London team returned with a number of Americans, including Fred Goldsmith, a young pitcher who upon joining the team became "the city's first popular sports hero."[47]

Though the game was played with enthusiasm, some wondered at the suitability of a game which had lost the "character of a genuine amateur amusement . . . and partakes of the nature of a speculation in the engagement of mercenaries and as game for gamblers."[48] If only some of the impressions gleaned from histories of the game are reliable, there was much truth in the above statement. Says Wallop:

> Baseball may indeed have been a game played out where the blue sky met the green grass, but all evidence indicates that for long years, certainly during its first quarter century, it was not a clean game played on the square. It was often a crooked game, influenced heavily by professional gamblers, played in the main by alcoholics and roughnecks, controlled by slow-witted, insensibly greedy executives and witnessed by rowdies to whom "Kill The Umpire" was sometimes more than merely a metephorical aspiration.[49]

Among some gamblers watching baseball in the early American west, it seemed that behaviour was governable by whether money stood to be gained or lost by a team's actions: "Just as a fly ball was dropping into a fielder's hands, every gambler who had bet on the nine at bat would discharge a fusillade from his six-shooter in an endeavor to confuse the fielder and make him miss the ball."[50] There were widespread accounts of drunkenness among the ball players; games appeared to have been "thrown" so much so that at times it appeared that each team was "suddenly trying to outfumble the other."[51] The Cincinnati Red Stockings and Harry Wright changed much of that. Not only were they top flight players, their conduct off the field was exemplary. Their success was greatly responsible for the formation of the National Association of Professional Baseball Players, founded in New York in 1871. It lasted for five years, and was destroyed mainly because of the drunkenness of players, associations with gamblers and shady dealings.

The National League, formed in 1876, served notice in its first year that it intended to make baseball respectable. Almost as soon as it was formed, it suspended four Louisville players for having accepted bribes. As a result, it appears that the first corollary of commercial leagues was learned: If the league was to depend upon the public for gate receipts and finances, which in turn would be used by the clubs to hire players of skill, it was necessary that the public have confidence in the integrity of the competition. If public confidence was lacking, so too would be gate receipts. So, too, would be the salaries and therefore sport as a profession could neither develop nor survive.

Although baseball teams in Canada had been occasionally characterized as professional, and had in fact been part of the professional International Association it was not until 1885 that a professional league was formed in this country. Named the Canadian Baseball League, it was chiefly noted as professional because of its payment to players. In an effort to convince the public of its integrity, a number of regulations were published. Eight games were to be played against each team, four on each other's field. Each visiting club had the option of a guarantee of $35 or 40% of the gross gate receipts. It was further specified that

> . . . as to club discipline in the engagement of players, there are clauses to the following effect. Each club shall have the power to regulate its own affairs and discipline or punish players providing nothing shall be done in violation of the constitution. No club shall engage any player under contract with or expelled from any other club and any club which shall employ, play or attempt to play any such player in a championship game shall forfeit the game to the opposing club to a score of 9 - 0. The club will also be liable to fine or expulsion. Any player shall be allowed to play with any club after his release from any club has been recorded with the secretary and every club releasing a player shall immediately notify the members of the league. The secretary must receive copies of contracts or agreements between clubs and players before any

> player shall be eligible to take part in any championship game.[52]

It was a new concept in Canadian sports. The public was being weaned from the challenge system as well as from the notion that competition took place between "traditional" clubs. In effect it was similar to representative government. In Toronto, a joint-stock company was formed and an effort was made to recruit baseball players, the prime requisite being their skill at the game. "Professional baseball playing", it was stated, "is as about as uncertain an occupation as it is possible to enter and players are released with a frequency that would be discouraging were it not for the fact that engagements are comparatively easy to obtain."[53] Players appeared and departed almost every week, "the new attractions offered, no doubt doing more to secure good gate receipts than do any number of victories over opposing nines."[54] The situation was likened to a theatrical engagement, which having made a limited appearance, moved on. The novelty of the concept was difficult to accept:

> It is hard to understand how an interest in a city's representative team can be continued when the alleged representatives are changed so frequently. The poor fellows have no time to identify themselves with the city whose name they use and while battling hard for the honour of "baseville" one day they may be stealing bases in the interests of "battersburg" on the next.[55]

With the influx of numbers of players from the United States and the resultant increase of skill among these "professional" teams, competitions between amateur and professional clubs was discouraged. Even when Toronto players batted their opposite style, they still defeated an Ottawa amateur team by 27 - 2.[56] As well, the league appeared to be a reasonable success; Toronto, after paying the season's salaries of $4,231.42 retained a surplus from its receipts of $8,500.00.[57]

The question of gate receipts was initially a matter for debate. The problem was highlighted by the large gathering of spectators at lacrosse matches. When the decision was made to charge admission, questions naturally followed: Who was to receive the money? Was there to be any sharing between the competing clubs? Would a club's expenses be paid out of the receipts? While some felt that it was the "thin edge of professionalism", others felt that the sharing of the receipts was a manifestation of the unselfishness of human nature. Some felt that "without this encouragement in the way of gate money, lacrosse would have never obtained the firm hold which it enjoys in the lives of people . . . the game instead of being hampered in its progress is actually encouraged by this provision."[58] There is no question that the underlying assumption was that skill and the improvement of same was becoming a major criterion of sport particularly in those which appealed to spectators. Once the practice of gate receipts became accepted, it was an attractive proposition for the sports entrepreneur.

Of course, the development would take many years before it was accepted. The Wheelmen's Association proposed in 1885 that all distinctions between amateur and professional cyclists be dropped. Cycling was a unique sport in that manufacturers hired men to sell bicycles and ride them in races for the advertising benefit derived. Since these men did not actually compete for money prizes, they were outside the normal interpretation of the amateur regulations. Neither were they professionals. A special category of "Makers' Amateurs" was created for them. When the proposal was made to drop all distinctions, there was some fear on the part of cyclists that they would not be able to compete against amateurs in other athletic events where the distinction still held. To many, there "was an unsavory taint attached to the very name of a professional."[59] Open competition, it was feared, would "drive all gentlemen away from the sport."[60]

At this time too, it should be mentioned that the formation of leagues was evolving. As early as 1886, the young sport of hockey had a four team grouping. Nine games were to be played and the winner of the four teams, Victorias, Crystals, Montreal AAA and McGill, was to be called the champion of Montreal. In that same year, it was evident that national sentiment was to be rated behind commercial interests. Much to the chagrin of the Canadian Baseball League, its two largest members, Toronto and Hamilton, decided to withdraw in order to join Oswego, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Binghampton and Utica in the International Baseball League. The move came at a time when Toronto had constructed a new park. Visions of grandeur were set into motion when A.G. Spalding, the American equipment business man, visited Toronto and suggested that it apply for a franchise in the National League.[61] Less than three weeks later, Toronto and Hamilton took what was hoped to be the first step toward that goal. There was some criticism of the move but it was defended by the Hamilton *Spectator*:

> last season's games with Guelph were played at a loss. Professional baseball is a pure matter of business. Large salaries are paid to the players and heavy expenses are incurred in the management of the teams. Money must be forthcoming or the thing cannot go on. The ball team cannot live on sentiment. It cannot exist on the friendship of Guelph with a deficit in the gate receipts. Business is business and in baseball as in everything else, baseball managers are as much entitled to look out for number one as any other class of business man. The people want to see good ball. The managers are prepared to give them good ball if they pay for it. Managers cannot afford to do it at a loss . . . . [Critics] should not get their amateur lacrosse and cricket ideas mixed up with professional baseball.[62]

Attendance at the Toronto and Hamilton games of 1886 averaged nearly four thousand spectators and it was evident that baseball was becoming immensely popular. Much of the success was due to the American players. Not only was the populace curious about them because of their nationality, but they also proved to be very skilful. Having received an early training in baseball, their skill was maintained by occasionally practising morning and afternoon during non-playing days.[63] The popularity of baseball was such that numerous amateur leagues were formed throughout the province of Ontario. One such league was proposed for the cities of Stratford, Woodstock, London and Brantford. Such a venture had been tried before, however, without any long term success. "Some of the clubs who find they are not strong enough to cope with their rivals, never hesitate to import players thus causing trouble and dissension in the league." It was suggested that this problem could be circumvented by allowing only Canadians to play because "where they couldn't keep out professionals, they could foreign players."[64]

Along with the influx of foreign players came foreign approaches. When contract regulations of the American Association baseball League were published, it was only a matter of time before the terms were being applied to Canadian teams. The American Association started in 1882 as a rival to the established National League. If the National was zealous to a fault in providing for the integrity of its league, the American Association was not. It decided to play on Sunday, serve beer in its parks and dress its players in colorful silks.[65] By 1885, however, the American Association owners decided that it was time to be more firm with the players. A contract was developed and was described as "ironclad".

> The player has to agree that he will keep himself in good trim throughout the season, that he will abstain from drunkenness, gambling or any dissipation, that he will assume all risks of injury, that the club to which he is bound can discharge or suspend him for illness or any reason which it may deem sufficient and that he will give his exclusive services to the club with which he may contract.[66]

It appears that the Toronto Club owners might have had this in mind when the President, E.S. Cox, addressed the players prior to giving them a printed set of rules by which to abide. In his address, he mentioned that Toronto was a "young ball city but has given evidence that its citizens are ready and willing to support a professional team if conducted on an honest and respectable principle."[67] After further stating that the public felt that the discipline on last year's club was lax, the players being allowed too many liberties, he mentioned that the manager was determined that it not happen again this year. Therefore, to help the men rid themselves of "all dissipations, bad associates and dissensions" in their ranks, the following rules were laid down:[68]

Players shall:

1. Abstain from all intoxicating drinks (any violations subject the offender to an unlimited fine by the manager).

2. Each player must keep his uniform clean and neat and in good repair at his own expense.

3. Players in uniform must not converse or mingle with friends in the audience.

4. Drinking, carousing, blaspheming and all improper language on or off the field, are all strictly forbidden.

5. Smoking while in uniform is forbidden.

6. No players, excepting the captain or his assistant, shall dispute the decision of the umpire unless called upon by the umpire or the captain to give testimony.

7. Players must not invite friends or acquaintances to ride in conveyances to or from the grounds without permission of the manager nor admit them to the dressing room under any circumstances before or after a game.

8. Players must conduct themselves in a quiet and gentlemanly manner and guard against practises which will injure their own reputation or that of the club.

9. Players must report to the manager daily, excepting Sunday, one hour before the time announced to call play and at such other times as he may direct. When on trips or at home, the men must not be out of the hotel or boarding house later than 11:30 o'clock p.m. without permission of the manager.

10. The manager has been instructed by the board to impose severe fines on any player violating any of the above rules or non-compliance of any order or instruction given by him.

Signed E. Strachan Cox,
C.H. Cushman.

Whether it was the rules or the good players led by their pitcher, Ned Crane, 93,000 spectators saw the Torontos win the International pennant in 1887. Baseball grew throughout the country. It was popular in Winnipeg; Montreal had a six team league. Toronto and Hamilton appeared to have double the amount of teams playing compared with previous years: "Commercial leagues were commonplace in the larger cities and junior leagues were beginning to become numerous. The rural towns had at least one baseball team."[69]

When "Opening Day" of the 1888 International League season arrived, the growth and support of baseball was in evidence by the cheers of 7,000 spectators who "drowned the strains of 'God Save The Queen' from Taylor's band as the great blue flag, telling that the Torontos had won the championship last season, was run up."[70]

With the popularity of baseball, it appeared that lacrosse, as it was operated, was rapidly losing favor with the general population. Attendance was falling off and players did not desire to spend the necessary amount of time practising in order to develop and improve their skill. Whereas baseball was able to insist on a code of behaviour and practise schedules, lacrosse with its prohibition of money had no such leverage. Clubs had become dependent, to an extent, on gate receipts but the latter diminished when the shoddy play of the performers was compared with the crisp and practised play of the baseballers.

> The players are scarcely to be blamed for constant practise uses up all spare time and the lacrosse seems to be more work than play. The games occur too often for the convenience of the players and scarcely often enough to sustain the interest of the public. Many a good team has been spoiled by the refusal at the last moment of an employer to allow his clerk another holiday. As a matter of fact, the players in the first class organizations lose a great deal of time in assisting the club they represent to fulfill its engagements in the schedule so that the uniformly good lacrosse and close contests cannot be hoped for because in the first place the players cannot be kept at practise and therefore they fall out of condition and secondly even the conscientious players who practise constantly in preparation for a match may be kept at home by an employer and have all their trouble for nothing.[71]

It was not that these were new developments; they had existed from the very beginnings of organized sport in Canada. As long as the player had prior commitments elsewhere, sport would be in a subordinate position. It should also be mentioned that it was not the players who were objecting to this arrangement, it was the organization, the Club. The purpose of the Club was no longer only social in character. Competition between these various organizations was being promoted. More than that, the resultant gate receipts were being used to contribute to the Club coffers. Baseball was, in effect, a form of competition in the eyes of these lacrosse clubs, a competition for the spectator's favor and his money. A very real growing fear was "that people may prefer good baseball to poor lacrosse."[72] The obvious answer which was advanced to eliminate many of the stated problems was to start a professional league. The problem was further compounded, however, in that the best exponents of the game were "generally of that class of amateur who would not play for pay."[73] Professionalism would present other problems as well: lacrosse teams carried a larger roster; rail expenses between the major centres of Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa were too great. For a time, it was debated whether the "granting of gifts either in money or value, to those players whose attendance at practise and whose services in matches entitles them to some such recognition at the close of the season",[74] would alleviate the problem. Since this was characterized as semi-professionalism, it was felt that most players would not find it objectionable.

Players were very concerned with the amount of time spent at practise. With the growth of the cities, practise fields were likely to be farther removed from many of the players' homes; a one hour practise might involve "the sacrifice of one whole evening."[75] With the individuals previously mentioned, however, the feeling was expressed that the "result would be good lacrosse at every match and the confidence of the people that each game they were invited to witness would be well contested and interesting with crowded grandstands and gate receipts."[76]

It was obvious that some action had to be taken by the various clubs. But with the emphasis on an amateur concept divorced from money, and the knowledge among the players that a "professional in one sport was a professional in all", there was some hesitation to accept money, openly at least, for practising or playing. Yet it did appear that many clubs were willing to reward players "under the table". It was at this time that many players, "tourists" as they were called, played for different teams in different parts of their province. These insinuations of professionalism were such that the Mail asked whether "the gentlemen are travelling around for pleasure or for business."[77]

The Gazette was incensed:

> The abuses are . . . manifold . . . glaring and . . . widespread . . . . Players are hired to play for certain clubs to win championships under the direction of the National Amateur Lacrosse Association. Continual transgression in this line has emboldened the transgressors to such an extent that secrecy in the matter is not thought of. This Club offers inducements, that Club has retained such a player, men are given situations nominally and then turned loose into the field to play lacrosse and still they are amateurs and have an amateur standing while men who do not transgress a tenth as much on the cinder path are deprived of their status.[78]

The impression given was that the NALA was "thoroughly wormeaten". Clubs were paying players a stated per game salary and in some cases, it was mentioned that players would occasionally "decline to go on the field unless given so many shekels."[79] A change was in order and one was soon made. The Canadian Lacrosse Association was formed at a meeting held at the Rossin House on April 22, 1887. The meeting in Toronto organized a new league representing twenty-seven clubs mostly from the western part of Ontario. A number of significant changes were made in an attempt to remedy the situation. While the constitution of the NALA was almost wholly adopted, the most notable exception was the absence in the new association of the clause barring Indians as professionals.

It was an obvious attempt to make the game more appealing to the spectators. It was readily admitted that the Indian was a superior lacrosse player, but because he had previously been arbitrarily categorized as a professional, he was not allowed to play for white teams in league play. Whereas before it had been expedient to bar him on the grounds of equalizing the competition, it was equally expedient at this time to give him back his amateur status and upgrade the quality of the play at the same time. A convenient rationalization was presented in 1887 which for some reason could not be thought of in 1880. The Indian was "enfranchised . . . he was considered to be an amateur unless he did something in violation of the definition."[80] By so giving the Indians their rights, the new Association could improve the calibre of its play without becoming "professional". While the word "Amateur" was removed from its organizational title, it was certainly present in the constitution as seen below:

> An amateur is any person who has not since June 4, 1880, competed in any open competition, or for a stake, public or admission

> money or entrance fee or competed with or against a professional for a prize, who has never at any period of his life taught or assisted in the pursuit of any athletic exercise or sport as a means of livelihood, whose membership of any lacrosse club was not brought about or does not continue because of mutual agreement or understanding whereby his becoming or continuing membership in said lacrosse club would be of pecuniary benefit to him either directly or indirectly, received any payment in lieu of loss of time while playing as a member of any lacrosse club or any money consideration whatever for services rendered as a player except as actual travelling or hotel expenses.[81]

In an effort to lower travelling expenses, league games in the CLA series at the Senior level, revolved around teams from Brantford, Paris, St. Catharines and Toronto. The NALA was forced to schedule its Senior series to include teams from centres in Quebec and eastern Ontario (i.e. Montreal, Brockville and Cornwall). In each league rivalry was high, many games ending in brawls and arguments and fighting. Predictably, many charges of professionalism in the new CLA revolved around Indians. The Six Nations Reserve, near Brantford, was a private source of players for the Brantford entry -- the first winners of the CLA in 1887. When the second meeting of the CLA was in progress in 1888, the focus centred on the eligibility of Indian players, a motion being made to exclude them from the league. Failing to receive the necessary two-thirds majority, the motion was defeated. Whereas in the NALA the Indians were barred as "professionals", the real reason for their barring was evident from the CLA action: the good Indian players were simply better than whites and clubs without Indians were jealous of those with them. Brantford had a number of Indians on their team, a fact which enabled them to win the championship. Perhaps, however, Brantford's success might have been attributed to the situations that were being offered in order to induce good lacrosse players to come to that city (see Appendix A).

In the National Amateur Lacrosse Association, the new arrangements were not conducive to gentlemanly play. After one particularly rough match between Montreal and Brockville, it was stated that Brockville brutality would become a byword in the civilized portions of Canada . . . "an outrage . . . by a semi-civilized tribe . . . . The professionalism now existing in the Brockville Lacrosse Club is injuring Lacrosse terribly and will tend to force amateur clubs to play exhibition games among themselves."[82]

By this time, it was evident that a pattern was emerging. In order to encourage players to practise, thereby using up their leisure time, it was necessary for the clubs to offer inducements in the form of money or situations. Where a source of players was not readily available, a player from out of town would be approached with the proposal of moving to a certain city in order to play lacrosse, a job being his reward (see Appendix A).

For much of the remainder of the nineteenth century, many of the charges of professionalism were related to "situations" or, in the case of the NALA whether the player was an Indian or not. A severe blow to the prestige of Lacrosse was dealt in 1888 when the Montreal Club sued a newspaper for libel. The newspaper had accused the club of "selling" a game to Cornwall during the 1887 season. Subsequent testimony at the trial incriminated several Montreal players but with no proof being brought directly against the club. The court inflicted damages of twenty-five cents against the newspaper.

In the west, the situation was similar. Vancouver and New Westminster used the facilities of the railroad in 1889 in order to secure players from Manitoba to help win the Alhambra Cup, symbolic of British Columbia supremacy.[83] This competitiveness and the desire to lure paying spectators to the matches produced additional changes in the structure and organization of the game. Prior to 1888 in the NALA a match consisted of three games (i.e. three goals). A change was necessitated that year since under the former regulation, a spectator was uncertain as to the length of the contest. If for some reason a team scored three goals quickly, within a matter of minutes, the competition was over. In these cases, the spectator was dissatisfied. He had payed his admission money, perhaps expecting an afternoon's enjoyment and had unexpectedly found himself with much time on his hands. It was clear that if the support of the public was to be curried, a concept similar to baseball's nine innings must be introduced. The NALA in 1888, therefore, imposed a time limit of two hours for its contests.[84] In the same year, in a further attempt to indicate the high level of play, a Senior Series was adopted. Teams from Toronto, Montreal (2), Ottawa and Brockville came to be colloquially known as the Big Five and challenged for the "Championship of the World". The effect was such that clubs were seeking high calibre performance in order to attract customers and yet wanted to do so as amateurs, that is as non professionals. Typical of the situation was Ottawa where

> of twenty available players with the Ottawa seniors, only five are natives, the rest being imported. The system of importing players, irrespective of their character, led to the resignation of the president of the club and the strictures of the Journal. The same paper tonight says that the club this season has imported more players than ever, the whole object being to secure the championship of the world.[85]

Not only in Ottawa were efforts being made to secure the "championship of the world". Reports from Toronto were that their senior lacrosse team was practising on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays for two hours commencing at six p.m.; throwing and running practices were held every other day. In Cornwall, Louis and McAteer, two players who had been suspended because of professionalism in 1888 were reinstated by the council of the National Amateur Lacrosse Association. It was held that the "charges were not proven."[86] By 1892, Lacrosse had progressed westward at such a rate, and at such a high level, that Manitoba and British Columbia clubs disputed the right of any club to call itself a "world champion" without first playing them. "They might be champions of Ontario and Quebec", it was stated, "but not west of Lake Superior."[87]

As if to underscore their claim, the Victoria Lacrosse Club toured the east winning games against Montreal, Toronto and Quebec, tying the Shamrocks and losing only to an all-star aggregation from Ottawa. There had been an earlier successful lacrosse tour by a western team in 1890; the Victoria team's successes showed that the earlier results were to be taken seriously.

But it was not only in Lacrosse that this expansion of competition was taking place. A relatively young sport was rapidly gaining a hold on the Canadian public. "The winter of 1892-93 was marked by a wave of hockey that rolled over the Northwest like a flood."[88] It was in February of 1893 that a Winnipeg based team toured Ontario and Quebec and much to the astonishment of the easterners, won seven of its nine games handily. Although the reference was to the successful lacrosse series, the sentiment expressed below was indicative of the welcomed anticipation of future series.

> The result of this tour suggests the advisability of instituting a Canadian Championship Series which shall embrace Canada as a whole. It has been shown that the west is

> not behind the east in the national pastime. Why then should the Championship of Canada be confined to Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa and Cornwall?[89]

Indeed, it was evident that the movement toward east-west competition was one more manifestation of the trend toward highly skilled competition. It was to signal a new phase in the necessities of practise, the wooing of players and their subsequent travelling to other centres for money considerations or a "situation". The horizon of the players had been widened. Cities previously unreachable were only a few days ride away. Spectators were willing to watch good attractions and pay accordingly. Sports promoters had a wider area from which to attract players and civic pride in a representative team was such that many jobs were made available to the manager and his players. In Hockey, the popularity of the game was increasing as was the knowledge of the spectator:[90]

> Sir:
>
> I wish to protest strongly against the action of the Granite Hockey Club in raising their prices to such absurdly high figures for tonight's contest with Osgoode Hall. I call it the height of impertinence in them to ask people to pay 75¢ for the privilege of sitting in a cold rink during probably two and one half hours to witness a contest between clubs which cannot be ranked as above the third class. In Montreal and Ottawa, where they have good hockey, the admission fee is only twenty five cents and it is to be hoped that the public will discourage this great game of grab on the part of the Granites and show them that they have over-rated them-

> selves . . . . Seventy Five cents and Fifty cents is outrageous and is evidently the result of a case of "very" swelled heads.
>
> Yours etc.
> (signed) Anti-Professional

To substantiate the letter writer's claims, the same edition carried an account of the Granite's 11-3 loss to the previously mentioned touring Winnipeg team.

As if to underscore the increased opportunities for competition in hockey, the Ontario Hockey Association was formed in 1890. One of the principle movers was Arthur Stanley, the son of Canada's Governor General. An Amateur Hockey Association of Canada had been formed in 1886, primarily a Quebec based organization. With Winnipeg showing that its hockey clubs were at least on a par with those of other Canadian cities, the Governor-General, Lord Stanley of Preston, announced that he would award a Cup to be competed for and "held by the leading hockey club in Canada."[91] The award, first announced in 1892, was first awarded in 1893:

> The Governor-General, in accordance with the promise made last year has given a hockey challenge cup to be held from year to year by the winning team in the Dominion. The Cup is now in Ottawa and in two or three days will be presented to the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association whose team defeated all comers during the latter season including the champions of the Ontario Association. It has been found convenient in the case of the challenge cups to open competition to more than one association, for instance, the Queen's Cup for Yachts, to commit the charge of the Cup to trustees who will hand it to the winning team at the conclusion of the hockey season each year. Accordingly, Lord Stanley has nominated

Sheriff Sweetland and Mr. P.D. Ross, both of Ottawa, as trustees and has asked them to award it annually on the following terms: His Excellency's conditions:

1. The winners to give bond for the return of the Cup in good order when required by the trustees for the purpose of handing over to any other team who may in turn win.

2. Each winning team to have at their own charge engraved on a silver ring fitted on the Cup for the purpose, the name of the team and the year won. In the first instance the MAAA will find the Cup already engraved for them.

3. The Cup shall remain a challenge Cup and will not become the property of any team even if won more than once.

4. In case any doubt as to the title of the club to claim the position of champions, the Cup shall be held or awarded by the trustees as they may think right, their decision being absolute.

5. Should either trustee resign or otherwise drop out, the remaining trustee shall nominate a substitute. Lord Stanley, in view of the fact of several hockey associations existing in Canada, also asked the trustees to suggest some means of making the Cup open to all and and thus representative of hockey championships as completely as possible rather than any one association. The trustees have accordingly suggested that the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada, the eastern organization, and the Ontario Hockey Association, the western, be asked to acquiesce in the following rules which will be submitted to the earliest respective meetings of the two associations.

1. That the Cup be called the Stanley Hockey Challenge Championship Cup.

2. That it be held by the MAAA team until the championship of the Association to which that team belongs, namely the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada, decide next year when the Cup shall go to the winning team.

3. In order that the Ontario Hockey Association shall have an equal interest in the Cup, the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada and the Ontario Hockey Association be requested to each arrange its season so that there shall be an opportunity for a final match between the two championship teams of the two organizations.

4. The trustees would respectably suggest to the Associations that this could be done by each Association, in arranging to close its separate championship contests no later than the first Saturday in March. Practically this is done now. The Amateur Hockey Association of Canada for instance is closing its season on March 8, the Ontario Hockey Association usually being earlier. The first Saturday in March could not be earlier than March 7. Next year it will be March 3rd.

5. If the above suggestions were adopted, the championship of the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada would accordingly be settled March 3rd and also possession of the Stanley Cup. So far as that Association is concerned, then, the winner might be open to a challenge from the champion club of the Ontario Association.

6. Then and thereafter, a challenge from the champion club of one Association to a champion club of the other holding the Cup might be sent under the following conditions:

(a) The challenge permissible either by wire or registered letter on the first Saturday of the following Monday of March.

(b) The Club holding the Cup must answer within two days of receipt of the challenge.

(c) The answer must either appoint the following Saturday, the second in March, or give the challenging club the option of naming, within two days, any other legal day up to and inclusive of March 15. The object of this clause is that any travelling on anything but a Saturday is inconvenient. If the home club will not or cannot give Saturday, the visiting club will have the choice. The home club shall be obliged if required to furnish trustees with a satisfactory reason for not giving Saturday.

> (d) The match shall be played on ice named by the champions but the net gate receipts shall be equally divided between the contesting teams.
>
> (e) Should the challenging club default after a date is fixed, it shall pay any advertising or any other expenses gone to by the champions in preparation for the match.
>
> 7. The fact that the club winning the Ontario Championship may also belong to and have been defeated in the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada series, shall not debar from challenging for the Stanley Cup and vice versa. The fact that the Ontario Association champion may also have won in the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada series shall not debar the second best team in the Amateur Hockey Association series from challenging the champions for the final match. The object of this is to continue with the interest in the game right up to the very close of the season.
>
> 8. Should any representative of provincial hockey association outside Quebec and Ontario desire to compete for the Cup, the trustees shall endeavor to reach means whereby its champion team may secure an opportunity to play for it.
>
> 9. In case a senior hockey league is formed representing the best hockey, irrespective of local associations, the trustees may give its winning club the right to challenge for the Cup and if successful, to hold it thereafter subject to new championship regulations.

It was during the 1894-95 hockey season that the international possibilities of hockey became apparent. An American team arrived in Toronto in order to play an "international contest" in January of 1895. Despite the problem that the American game was more akin to polo on ice, its rules providing for five men instead of seven and a ball instead of a puck,[92] compromises were made and the matches played. The Canadians easily won all games by large margins.

More important, however, was the fact that the American players, all from universities, returned home with a new concept of hockey. In a very short time the Canadian game caught on and the United States became a potential area for Canadians to display their hockey playing talent. With respect to the latter point, it is interesting to note that hockey rinks in Canada during this era were built primarily for curling and converted to hockey use. The first rinks constructed for hockey use were in 1895, one at Ottawa and one at Kingston.[93] All of these rinks in Canada at this time, whether for hockey or curling, were of natural ice and dependent upon the weather. It's probable that the first team from Canada to have played on artificial ice was a team from Quebec playing against John Hopkins University in Baltimore in 1895.[94]

Hockey, in the latter part of the nineteenth century was a relatively young sport, played locally in scattered areas of the country. With the introduction of the Stanley Cup, the game assumed a national focus especially when, in February of 1896, the Winnipeg Victorias defeated Montreal to win the Cup for the west for the first time. The victory was a source of western pride. It signalled the beginning of many similar attempts by various communities to gain what was already a nationally recognized symbol. The opportunity to gain the prized trophy was reason enough for many teams to offer jobs, or situations, and/or financial rewards to players who it was felt could win the Cup. Gradually the Maritimes started playing hockey in leagues and by the year 1900 a team from the East coast, the Halifax Crescents, travelled to Montreal to unsuccessfully challenge the Shamrocks for the Cup.

Not only was there an increase in hockey interest generally, the competitions led to higher levels of skill as teams in segments of the country were able to compare their techniques with others and refine their fine points while correcting their flaws. The competition also led to many refinements in equipment. Winnipeg, for example, is credited with introducing cricket pads for goalers, tube skates and lighter sticks with tapered blades.[95] Generally, hockey was not plagued with amateur-professional problems during the nineteenth century. There were isolated examples of players being expelled for "professionalism", (i.e.) accepting money; the whole Berlin (Kitchener) team of 1897 "including Ed and Joseph Seagram was expelled because the team manager, after winning a bet, gave each of the players a ten dollar gold piece, which most of them mounted as a souvenir or a watch fob."[96]

It was bicycling which presented a unique situation in the professional-amateur controversy. Prior to the general introduction of the safety bicycle in the 1880's bicycling was a novel experience. Rather than purchase such a formidable object, many people preferred to hire a machine and partake of lessons from numerous "self styled professors of the art."[97] By 1892, four years after the first bicycle clubs were formed in Montreal and Halifax, the Canadian Wheelmen's Association was formed. Its object was to conduct, encourage and promote cycle racing and to promote the general interest of cycling in Canada; to ascertain, defend, and protect the rights of Wheelmen: to encourage and facilitate touring: to establish and regulate bicycle championships among its members.[98]

As cycling increased in popularity and as machine styles progressed from the "penny farthing" to the "safety bicycle" having two wheels of the same size and eventually covered with pneumatic tires, the sport introduced new problems to amateur authorites:

> Can a cyclist accept a position in a cycling firm whose sole duties during the racing season are to train for the various races held under the auspices of the Canadian Wheelmen's Association provided he rides their particular wheel and still be strictly and fairly an amateur?[99]

According to the CWA bylaws, the rider could "do all this and still remain a strict amateur as therein defined. Whether such a cyclist is fairly an amateur is a question that perhaps would bear much discussion."[100] With respect to this problem, an interesting meeting of the Hamilton Bicycle Club took place on February 8, 1893. It was decided to do away with cash prizes "in all and every circumstances" but more significantly, "that there would be two classes of amateurs; one for amateurs who follow any occupation other than the bicycle business and second for riders who work for bicycle dealers or ride for manufacturing firms."[101]

After some criticism of the distinction, the Wheelmen's Association, a decentralized form of organization, moved to annul the Hamilton group's decision. At a meeting in March, it was decided that these "makers amateurs, (i.e.) young men who are employed by bicycle manufacturers and dealers with the chief object of competing in races though their assumed duties may be ordinary warehouse or office labour",[102] would not be designated as amateurs. The same meeting placed a limit of $150.00 on prizes.

England, at this time, had two categories of amateurs in cycling: the licensed "pure" amateur and the unlicensed makers' amateur. As well, in the United States, the concept of a Class A and Class B amateur for cycling purposes was also in vogue. Again the problem centered around money. On the one hand, a person could earn money as part of his day's labour and be praised for it; let him earn money as a result of his athletic prowess, however, and he was damned as a "professional". The creation of the two classes of amateurs seemed to be a way out of the predicament but one which was not universally accepted.

> In the days that are past when we fossils wrestled an old high wheel around a track while the timer's watch ran down and the

> audience were glad when it was over, these rules were all right. Our three dollar watch charm was simply reward of merit for efforts and our vest was too small to contain the honour we rode to accumulate. We looked on a professional in those days as bad as tobacco chewing, a double cross athlete who would cut his throat to keep up his reputation as crooked if he thought that anyone was betting that he would live. Now it is changed and even the most out and out professional has proved himself a gentleman on the track when governed by equitable and reasonable rules.[103]

Why the two classes of amateur were introduced is not certain. A number of explanations, however, come to mind. Firstly, it meant that one could be employed as a representative of a bicycle firm and not be classified as a professional. In addition to bicycle firms promoting racing competitions, so too were tire companies. The Dunlop Tire Company sponsored races for some thirty years starting in 1895 at Toronto.[104] While prizes at these events were not of cash, they were, nonetheless, of significant value. An 1893 event under the auspices of the three leading bicycle clubs in Toronto, The Royal Canadian Bicycle Club, Queen City, Bicycle Club and the Toronto Bicycle Club, offered as prizes, a team of horses and carriage as well as a grand piano, valued at $825.00. As early as 1892, the Globe spoke out against this:

> . . . no good purpose is to be served by giving amateurs such extravagent prizes as $1,000 pianos and horses and carriages, as is done among the cyclists. The situation on the cycle path is now that a real amateur has little chance to win prizes. They go to

> riders who, for months, do nothing but train and race at home and abroad. Even in Toronto we have most of the good riders making a living out of their speed on the road.[105]

The classification of a Class B amateur also meant that winners of meets as described above could keep the prizes and as long as they did not convert them to cash, they were not considered to be "professionals". In 1895, the C.W.A. officially introduced its jurisdiction over the Class A (strict) amateurs, Class B (Maker's) and Class C (Professionals). The delineation seemed to satisfy no one. The Class B riders were dissatisfied because they could gain no advantage from their prizes other than displaying them. One rider commented that he won more than $9,000 worth of diamonds and other prizes during the previous year's racing and yet was denied the right of converting them to cash.

> What good do they do me? I do not want a basketful of diamonds or rather, I have no use for them. I would be much better satisfied with their money equivalent. Prizes are very fine and even if I did start turning them into money, I would not realize what they were actually worth. What would be the difference in giving a man a diamond or its value in money. None that I could see. It costs a large amount to train and travel around the country and the riders should at least have an opportunity to make something of their wins. Sometime ago, it was suggested that a piece of pure gold be given as a first prize. Now I consider that idea to be just the proper thing. It wouldn't be like giving the rider money but he could quickly convert it. It

> would not injure the sport in the least and would be of great financial benefit of the riders.[106]

Certainly, the majority of the amateur authorities were against the above-mentioned arrangement. There was great doubt expressed about the wisdom of the C.W.A. attempting to control professional racing as well as the creation of the new class of "promateurs". The danger of a cash prize was still one to avoid as far as the amateur authorities were concerned: "With the cash prizes must come increased vigilance against division and races and combinations which sooner or later bring discredit on the sport."[107] The move to include professionals and amateurs under the aegis of one body was unique and had merit. It meant that any rider, amateur or professional who was suspended for any reason, could not ride in any event sponsored by the Association. In effect, then, the rider could not race again until he was re-instated.

The twelfth annual meeting of the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada expressed concern at the Wheelmen's Association's categories. The opinion was expressed that the divisions did not fit in with the accepted definition of an amateur. Criticism came also from various newspapers who had remarked that "the scheme always was a bluff and always will be a bluff to allow so-called amateurs to make money by their prowess without becoming professionals. It would not be tolerated in any branch of amateur athletics."[108] It was because of this criticism that the Wheelmen's Association abolished the designation of a class B amateur in 1896. In its stead was adopted the CAAA definition. The class B amateurs were given the opportunity to apply for re-instatement "as amateurs under the CAAA. Those who did not apply, were automatically categorized as professionals, some twenty-four of these being so characterized in the Racing Board Bulletin of July, 1896."[109]

While the sport of cycling, under the Canadian Wheelmen's Association was able to govern both professional and amateur segments, thereby minimizing problems, rowing was beginning to regain some of the appeal it formerly held under the worldwide hegemony of Hanlan. In 1896, Jacob (Jake) Gaudaur, of Orillia, Ontario, finally achieved his goal of the world's sculling championship. One of Canada's most durable athletes, Gaudaur competed for many years under Hanlan's shadow, coming close to winning the world's championship against Beach in 1886, only to lose by a very narrow margin at the finish. In the intervening ten years, he defeated most of the scullers in the world only to be refused the opportunity of meeting the champion, John Stanbury, of Australia.

Rowing had suffered somewhat of a lapse in popularity from 1884 to 1896. Hanlan's loss to Beach had lessened the prestige of professional rowing. People were likely to forget the shortcomings of a Courtney or his successor, John Teemer, as long as they could point to Hanlan as the champion and a model for good behaviour and good character. Certainly the London Times felt as such when it wrote a scathing article on the morals of the professional oarsmen. It concluded:

> It is a great fall from Hanlan to Teemer, from the King of professional oarsmen to a fellow beneath the contempt of even Courtney. The professional oarsmen of America never had a more worthy representative than Edward Hanlan. In no respect was he a man like the others. There were thousands who admired him and believed in him. Unless the oarsmen willing to see professional rowing become notoriously, the lowest and corrupt of athletic sports, they should cause it to be known that Teemer is neither their leader nor their representative. They should denounce the swindler and bar him out.[110]

It was only natural that the professional athletes of the day, living amongst the growth of the amateur associations and the resultant characterization of the amateur as "morally good" and the professional as "morally evil", were aware of these sentiments. Some, like Gaudaur, were able to see through it and joke about the superficiality of the situation. When he enquired, in 1887, about his Sheridan Mines stock, he was informed that the price per share had dropped from his purchase price of $7.40 to fifty cents. His reaction reflected his athletic feelings: "if that sort of thing should occur in a boat race, what a cry of hippodrome would be raised."[111]

The insinuations of moral depravity among professional athletes was widespread in amateur organizations throughout the English speaking world. Some rowing organizations in Britain wished to return to the concept of amateurism as a class distinction. The Henley Regatta did in fact, follow such a distinction. Barred from the rowing ranks as amateurs, as far as the Henley was concerned, were those who: had competed for money; competed knowingly against a professional for a prize; had taught athletic exercise; had been employed in or about boats or manual labour for money or wages; who had been, or were, within two years prior to the date of entry, by trade or employment for wages, a mechanic, artisan or engaged in any menial duty.[112] It was not a generally accepted regulation across the sea in Canada; "with two exceptions every rowing club in the country has pronounced against obnoxious class distinctions."[113] P.D. Ross, the sports editor of the Ottawa Journal, was particularly outspoken in opposition to the movement for a form of amateurism based on class distinctions. As far as he was concerned, it would destroy amateur rowing in Canada and was based "on a mistaken conception of the nature of the trouble which amateur oarsmen experience with semi professionalism."[114] He stated that if this definition were adopted in Canada, "the general democratic public of this continent who don't know much about the necessities of sport and care less, will quickly come to the conclusion that an amateur is another name for dude."[115] This being the case, honest attempts to protect amateurism would be scoffed at and fail. In England, he stated, class distinctions could be set up successfully because each class was populous enough to support its own sport; in Canada, it was necessary to be united.

Ross further mentioned that the problem with semi-professionalism in Canadian rowing had nothing to do with mechanics. The problem was related to men who "either do no honest work of any kind or knock off work in the summer months in order to train."[116] With all this training and conditioning, they could enter regattas and compete successfully against mechanics as well as clerks. "These loafers, supported by their friends or by sporting men, compete in amateur regattas doing all the betting they can until they feel able to enter the professional ranks and row for money. They use the amateur organizations for a stepping stone to professionalism."[117] Ross continued to argue that the Henley restrictions, if adopted in Canada, would not solve the above problem.

> The mechanic may have bigger muscles than the clerk but for purposes of rowing, not better ones. As a rule, he is muscle bound. Few of the first rank professional scullers of the present day were mechanics. They were mostly boat men or boat carpenters, including Hanlan, Beach, Hamm, Conley, Courtney and I think Gaudaur . . . .
> And not only is the ordinary mechanic liable to be muscle bound but working in his trade

> ten hours a day, he is not otherwise as fit to train for rowing as an ordinary clerk. . . . I remember scarcely an instance of a mechanic proving a successful oarsman.[118]

It was impossible, Ross maintained, to frame a definition to debar the semi-professional elements. His solution was to have an arbitrary committee of men of standing representing various rowing clubs investigate each application to row in a meet and make a decision. Several names were suggested who would not misuse this arbitrary power. Ross was at that time a member of the Ottawa Rowing Club and possibly because of his influence, that club proposed an addition to the 1880 CAAO definition in an effort to get to the root of the problem. A preliminary meeting of the CAAO on May 17, 1887, refined the Ottawa suggestion so as to "provide for the exclusion of those who abandon or leave their daily avocation for more than two weeks for the purpose of training and have no visible or legitimate means of support during the period, but row for some real or anticipated profit either direct or indirect."[119]

Though the definition might have helped solve the problem of semi-professionalism, some were still convinced that the vestiges of class distinction remained. The mere accusation of "professional" directed at a competitor was enough to cause suspicion and perhaps suspension. Dennis Donohue, of Hamilton, was suspended from the Nautilus Rowing Club after a distinguished career. He wrote a letter to the editor of the Hamilton Herald in which he claimed that he was expelled from the amateur ranks with no evidence given to justify the action.

> . . . thus a man having a spite or grudge against a rival may stab him behind the back and ruin him. Or a man may be ruined by the reception of evidence against him given to the committee by a man who may be perfectly sincere in his accusation and yet utterly mistaken. Is this justice? Is it even common sense? I believe from my heart that my disqualification is simply a blow at the mechanic or working man element of the association, or, if not, a scheme to get rid of him, of a man whose heart has proved too strong for those who measure blows with him. It is true that I do not attend "at homes" or dances in the small tail coat. Perhaps my hands are not as soft and white as those of those of the men who have to work less hard. If this is so, I can say that my heart is honest and my record as an oarsman cannot be assailed. I have been driven out of the amateur ranks without cause and most unjustly and I leave it to the people to say whether or not this is the case. When next I race it will be as a professional oarsman but I hope, even then, to bring honour to Hamilton and to uphold its merits before all the comers.[120]

It is not known, of course, whether Donohue was "guilty" or not. However, his letter does make clear some of the dangers of the system. It also makes clear some of the reasons why a rower could be professionalized. More than likely, Donohue was simply too good. This era of Canadian rowing seemed preoccupied with equating competition and to a large extent it was successful. There was a significant growth of the sport in Canada. East-west competition was such that in 1895 crews from

Victoria, Toronto and Winnipeg competed at the latter's annual regatta. In continental regattas, Canadian dominance was such that American rowers felt that if they could defeat the Canadians, they would win first prize.[121]

Yet all seemed unprepared for that day in 1896, when news of Gaudaur's victory was received. The enthusiasm generated was unprecedented. Flowery language predominated, "the cheers which rose in tumultuous volumes on the Thames on September 2, after Jake Gaudaur had attained the utmost pinnacle in rowing fame, have been caught up in Canada and are now echoing through the land."[122] On his return to Toronto, the Orillian was given a roaring welcome:

> It was simply immense. Oldtimers who shouted their lungs out when Ned Hanlan wrested the championship from the best scullers of the world two decades ago, were completely dumbfounded. It transcended their expectations. In fact, such a spontaneous, enthusiastic genuine desire to do honour to a man who had achieved the distinction, who has placed himself at the top of the heap in his profession, was never seen anywhere in Canada before. It was unique in the history of the country. There was not an able bodied person in the city who was not scattered along the line of the parade last night on both sides of the street.[123]

Gaudaur held the world's championship for five years before losing it to the Australian George Towns at Lake of the Woods in 1901. While Canadians were to win further honors in rowing during the twentieth century, Gaudaur's tenure as champion, signalled the demise of professional rowing. The public seemed caught up in the general wave of enthusiasm for team sports. The Star commented on the anomaly of the situation where a Canadian, Gaudaur, was champion of the world and yet the Gaudaur-Johnson race of 1898 was not attracting nearly the following that such an event would have attracted some fifteen years earlier. Rowing's problem, it was said, lay in the fact that it was extremely difficult to collect gate money at a boat race; with no money there could be no professional rowing and so rowing was passing out of general favor.[124]

In those sports where it was relatively easy to collect gate receipts, movements continued in their effort to field the best team possible, especially in the popular sports of lacrosse, hockey and football. By the turn of the century, there were no professional leagues operating in these areas but there were charges of professionalism (commercialism) made almost daily during the sport's related season. For example, in lacrosse, seventeen members of the Ottawa Capitals were suspended in 1898 on charges of professionalism. They had been given bonuses of $100 at the end of the 1897 season in recognition of their play. In hockey, the Ontario Hockey Association professionalized the whole of the Berlin hockey club for "harbouring paid players".[125] Football was being criticized for its "professional" tendencies to the point where even the president of the C.R.U., Edward Bayley, was declared a professional for having accepted ten dollars for refereeing a football game.

Although these various sports operated independently one from the other, each had some influence on the other in the trend towards the best representation possible. Certainly, lacrosse was among the first to offer inducements in the form of jobs (or "situations" in the language of the day) in order to acquire certain skilled players. There might also be outright payments in the form of a constant amount, the opportunity to share in a wager on the success of the team or a bonus at the end of the season. Even officials were discouraged from receiving money in return for their arbitrating; to do so would mean professionalization. It was only in 1901 that the Ontario Hockey Association declared that its hockey referees would be paid five dollars a game with no effect on their amateur standing.[126]

In an effort to curb the movement of players from one centre to another and faced with the difficulty of proving an athletic connection, various leagues enacted residential legislation. The Ontario Rugby Football Union declared, in 1900, that players in order to be eligible to play for a club in 1901 were required to be a resident of that city from July 1 preceding the football season.[127] The practise of players moving from city to city was so widespread at this time that truly local players were already being designated by the term "homebrew".[128] Civic pride was demanding the best teams possible "regardless of how they were assembled".[129] Throughout this period, the professional athlete was invariably linked with money but there was also the attendant quality of skill. Thus, at one end of the spectrum of professionalism was the simple identification with money; at the other was skill. The third component necessary to complete the triad was time. All of these meshed one with the other to promote the development of the athlete's talent. Time was necessary to perfect his skill. With his skill, he was able to acquire money, which in turn gave him time. Whereas, it was commonly being asserted that the athlete was playing in order to be paid, it was also becoming apparent that he was being paid so that he might play. An indication of this new notion of professionalism came in 1900 when Chaucer Elliott, a football player with the Kingston Granites, was charged with being a professional for having played baseball for money. The Kingston *Whig Standard* dismissed the idea as ridiculous. How, it asked, could a person be a professional football player when he worked at a trade besides? The implication was that the connotation of a professional status meant a full time commitment. Money was not the distinguishing feature. The *Whig Standard*'s concept was too far advanced for the Toronto *Star*, however, the latter paper remarking that "the Whig man's idea of professionalism is peculiar to say the least. The statement that players who receive money for playing are not professionals 'in the strict sense' shows the utter absurdity of the so called argument."[130]

Perhaps this notion of professionalism and its fear by the amateur is best illustrated by an 1890 article.[131] In seeking to understand how a professional could ever find his way into sport, which traditionally, of course, to the British was a diversion, the writer had this to say:

> the very essence of athletic sport is the rivalry it engenders. Rivalry in turn begets a desire for excellence, and excellence in any art mainly depends upon the amount of time devoted to the pursuit of it. As the art develops, so the standard of excellence is being continually raised, until at length we reach a perfection which can only be attained by those who devote their whole time and energies to its cultivation. This at least, means the devotion of a life . . . . The sole raison d'etre of a professional in athletic sport is the excellence which by his agency is attained and which without his agency would never have been approached.[132]

Vassal's corollary to the above was the statement that the person who devotes his time to perfect his athletic skills will naturally become superior to the amateur who participates only in his leisure moments. Other than cricket, this was certainly the case in nineteenth century sport. Cricket was the exception because "out of the whole category of athletics, this is the one game in which they are able to compete on terms of equality."[133] He maintained that in a sport such as rugby, it would be impossible for the amateur to compete with the professional. The amateur would have his business associations and, as a result, irregular training. He would tend to look upon the game as exercise and recreation. The professional, on the other hand, would have the opportunity to practise regularly, his team becoming smoothly co-ordinated. Because the game would be looked upon as a means of livelihood and therefore dependent on the maintenance of his form and superior play, the result would be a stimulus to excel. And

> . . . can anyone doubt what the result will be? The amateur will be heavily handicapped to keep on terms and in a brief period will drop behind, outclassed. Old clubs with splendid records will gradually recede into obscurity. The interest which formerly surrounded their doings will gradually fade away, and the fickle public will transfer their patronage to their more brilliant rivals. Nothing succeeds like success, and nothing devastates like disaster. Disheartened by defeat, and outclassed in an unequal struggle, amateur clubs will, one by one, drop away.[134]

As far as Vassal was concerned, the improved excellence in play and the sacrifice in purity was too great a price to pay. Notwithstanding, however, his article pointed out the relationship of time, money and skill and thus leads to a further amplification of the concept of professionalism in sport. The sport of hockey provides a useful insight into this evolving concept and will be dealt with more fully below. For the present, it should be noted that the presentation of the Stanley Cup certainly provided a catalyst for the acquisition of skillful players. As the trophy assumed more and more prominence and importance, clubs vied with one another for good players, offering inducements in the form of jobs and money in the process. Soon rink owners in Canada, as well as the United States, "were learning not only that hockey was profitable but also that all-star teams made more money than ordinary ones."[135] But while many operators in Canada were heartened by the increased revenues provided by the Stanley Cup series, these were too few and far between. It remained for the United States to provide the awareness for potential financial gains in hockey.

It remained for centres such as Houghton, Michigan and Pittsburgh, to initiate the relationship between hockey and money on an open basis. Houghton was a thriving mining town of 3,500 population which was introduced to good hockey by J.L. Gibson, a dentist who had played for the 1897 Berlin Hockey Club, professionalized that year. After going to Michigan, he suggested that Houghton's representative team should avail itself of Canada's wealth of natural hockey resources. That decision being made, emissaries were sent northwards:

> . . . evidently, many Canadian stars had been advised to get away from the big cities and spend a winter in a nice quiet little town, preferably one whose name began with H. So when the scouts returned home, they brought with them some of the choicest players to be found in Montreal,

> Ottawa and Toronto . . . . Every one of them was a star of the first magnitude and on the ice, they were as good as their newspaper headlines.[136]

In the same year, 1902, Pittsburgh was also attracting much Canadian hockey talent. At a time when there were no artificial hockey rinks in Canada, the American city had built one, thus making the possibility of an elongated hockey season a reality. It was publicly being bandied about, at the same time, that players were being paid thirty dollars a week to play hockey in Pittsburgh.[137] To which the Ontario Hockey Association reacted by giving a stern warning: "Keep away from Pittsburgh or out you go into the darkness of professionalism."[138]

In earlier times, this dictum would have been enough to keep players away from commercial influences, but now it appears that a "crack in the wall of amateurism"[139] had developed. During the latter half of 1902, a correspondent suggested to the sports editor of the Toronto Star that a professional coach be hired for the Toronto Lacrosse team. A few short years ago the Star would have thundered in opposition. It now surprisingly remarked: "he's right. With the material the Torontos have, a good coach should work out a pennant winning team."[140] Perhaps in keeping with the winds of change, the Star also printed a description of football, complete with the following amplification:

> Players are of two kinds, the amateur and the professional. The amateur player is one who gets his transportation from his home to the training camp, his room rent free, his board rates reduced to nothing, pays no tuition and gets a job sweeping out the gymnasium at thirty dollars a week.
> A professional player is one who won a silver dollar at a footrace at a picnic when he was a small boy.[141]

This apparent willingness to look more closely at the concepts of the amateur and the professional appeared again during November. An announcement was made that four men of international reputation would compete in the professional class of the Montreal championship races to be held by the Montreal Skating Club in February, 1903. Reference was also made to the fact that amateurs would also compete alongside the professionals. The Star remarked: "it seems that in skating as in other sports, professionals are the big attraction even for such a severe amateur organization as the Montreal Skating Club."[142]

Thus, perhaps it was not surprising that the OHA threat regarding Pittsburgh was ignored. Within ten days of the governing body's edict, the Kingston Frontenacs announced their plans to play the Pittsburghs in January. The club knew the penalty but simply decided not to put a team in the Senior OHA.[143] In the past, the alternatives were either: subscribe to the "no money" regulation, or don't play hockey, but it was now possible to find other teams to play. The fact that these other teams were composed of well known Canadian players assisted in promoting the developing connection between professional and high calibre. It was a link that became more pronounced after 1902.

FOOTNOTES TO PART TWO, I.

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[2] Toronto Mail, April 12, 1884.

[3] Keith Lansley, "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of Alberta, 1971, p. 34.

[4] Minutes of the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada, 1887, p. 3.

[5] Ibid., 1891, p. 8.

[6] Lansley, op. cit., p. 8.

[7] Minutes of the AAA of C, 1887, p. 8.

[8] Minutes of the AAA of C, 1889, p. 17.

[9] Lansley, op. cit., p. 40.

[10] Minutes of the AAA of C, 1891, p. 19.

[11] Lansley, op. cit., p. 45.

[12] Minutes of the AAA of C, 1894, p. 3.

[13] Ibid.

[14] A.E. Cox, "A History of Sports In Canada, 1868-1900". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1969, p. 67.

[15] Minutes of the AAA of C, 1896, p. 3.

[16] Lansley, op. cit., p. 53.

[17] AAA of C Constitution, By Laws and Laws of Athletics, November 1896, p. 4, cited in Lansley, Ibid., p. 52.

[18] Constitution, Ibid., p. 12 and 15 cited in Lansley, Ibid., p. 54.

[19] Minutes of the AAA of C, 1884, p. 7, 1898, p. 3.

[20] Ibid., 1898, p. 4, 5.

[21] Ibid., p. 8.

[22] Lansley, op. cit., p. 60.

[23] Cox, op. cit., pp. 54, 60, 92, 102, 171, 231, 256, 283 and 304.

[24] Constitution, Bylaws and Laws of Athletics (1902), p. 5.

[25] Ian Jobling, "Sport In Nineteenth Century Canada: The Effect of Technological Change and Its Development". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1970.

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[32] Toronto Globe, December 31, 1894.

[33] Peter Lindsay, cited in Jobling, op. cit., p. 50.

[34] Toronto Globe, August 10, 1878.

[35] Toronto Globe, October 15, 1878.

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[37] Jobling, op. cit., p. 75.

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[49] Douglas Wallop, Baseball, An Informal History. New York: W.W. Norton, 1969, p. 38.

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[51] Ibid.

[52] Toronto Mail, April 24, 1885.

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[54] Ibid.

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[58] Toronto Mail, September 2, 1885.

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[61] Toronto Globe, February 2, 1886.

[62] Hamilton Spectator, cited in the Toronto Mail, February 24, 1886.

[63] Toronto Mail, July 10, 1886.

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[65] Wallop, op. cit., p. 50.

[66] Toronto Mail, January 25, 1887.

[67] Toronto Mail, April 8, 1887.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Cox, op. cit., p. 51.

[70] Toronto Globe, May 14, 188

[71] Toronto Mail, March 26, 1886.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., April 1, 1886.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., April 6, 1886.

[78] Montreal Gazette, cited in the Toronto Mail, March 11, 1887.

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[80] Toronto Mail, April 23, 1887.

[81] Toronto Mail, June 30, 1887.

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[89] *Manitoba Free Press*, September 25, 1893.

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[91] See conditions below as outlined by the *Toronto Mail*, May 1, 1893.

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[102] *Toronto Mail*, April 1, 1893.

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[104] Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[105] *Toronto Globe*, July 10, 1892.

[106] *Toronto Mail*, January 16, 1895.

[107] *Toronto Mail*, January 16, 1895.

[108] *Toronto Star*, February 25, 1896.

[109] *Toronto Mail*, July 6, 1896.

[110] *London Times*, cited in the *Toronto Mail*, August 2, 1886.

[111] *St. Louis Republican*, cited in the *Toronto Mail*, January 31, 1887.

[112] *Toronto Mail*, April 30, 1887.

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[114] *Toronto Mail*, April 25, 1887.

[115] *Ibid.*

[116] *Ibid.*

[117] *Ibid.*

[118] *Ibid.*

[119] *Toronto Mail*, May 18, 1887.

[120] Hamilton *Herald*, cited in the Toronto *Mail*, August 25, 1890.

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[122] Toronto *Globe*, September 21, 1896.

[123] *Ibid.*, September 23, 1896.

[124] Toronto *Star*, July 7, 1898.

[125] Foster Hewitt, *Hockey Night In Canada*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961, p. 33.

[126] Toronto *Telegram*, December 4, 1901.

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[130] Toronto Star, September 26, 1900.

[131] Henry Vassal, "The Effect of Professionalism on the Rugby Game", Rugby Football. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1890, pp. 43-54.

[132] Ibid., p. 45.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Ibid., p. 46.

[135] Foster Hewitt, op. cit., p. 33.

[136] Ibid., p. 34.

[137] Toronto Star, December 14, 1902.

[138] Ibid., December 16, 1902.

[139] Ibid., December 26, 1902.

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II

A NEW OUTLOOK, 1903-1920

In many respects, the growth of professionalism in Canadian sport closely paralleled the developments in Canada's growth to nationhood. Many problems which beset Canada from confederation to the end of the nineteenth century, were national in scope. They dealt with the National policy, the construction of railways, the Riel rebellions and the Manitoba School Question. While each problem was being solved to provide a basis for growth in the twentieth century, the question of relations with the United States and imperial relations with Great Britain were continually being discussed. Certainly the Boer War was a manifestation of the feeling during the period prior to the Great War, of a concerted movement towards Britain. Closer imperial ties such as an imperial navy and cabinet were being advocated. In the area of sport, too, there was this identity of many Canadians with Britain. It seemed only natural to many to read of Billy Sherring winning the Olympic marathon, running "while waving a small Union Jack."[1] As a result of the 1908 Olympic games being held two years later in London, England, it was proposed by the British, to enter an Empire team for the 1912 festival. To prepare for the Stockholm Olympics, as well as honor the coronation of George V, an athletic meet of empire teams was held in 1911 as part of the Festival of the Empire.

The Empire Games were a success and plans were made to have each country of the empire send its athletes to England for a short period prior to the 1912 Games. In England, training was to take place in a "systematic way, under qualified instructors . . . so as to bring the team into the best possible condition."[2] Once done, the team would leave for Stockholm where they were to compete under similar combined circumstances. As for the reason for these arrangements, the political motivation was clear: "the object lesson of such a unified team would be extremely beneficial both in an imperial and athletic sense."[3]

Indeed, the linking of sport, amateurism and the empire was earlier indicated when John Ross Robertson addressed the Ontario Hockey Association convention on November 11, 1905. In his closing paragraph, he stated:

> We have a great game, a great country and a great Empire. If you gentlemen are as great as the possibilities of the O.H.A., and if we Canadians are as great as the possibilities of Canada; and if we Britons are as great as the glory of our Empire, then the flag of amateurism in your hands will be as safe from harm as the Union Jack in the hands of your father and mine.[4]

With the British declaration of war on Germany in 1914, Canada, being a colony, was automatically at war as well. Yet there was an unmistakeable enthusiasm in

Canada for the war. At a special session of the Canadian Parliament, August 19, 1914, the Governor-General, dressed in khaki for the occasion, read the Speech from the Throne. The tone of the speeches which followed was one of unquestioned loyalty to the leadership of Britain. The leader of the Liberal opposition, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, summed up these feelings. He stated that

> . . . it will be seen by the world that Canada, a daughter of Old England, intends to stand by her in this great conflict. When the call comes, our answer goes at once, and it goes in the classical language of the British answer to the call of duty: 'Ready, Aye Ready'.[5]

The agony of the Great War, however, was to have a profound effect on Canadian feelings towards all things British. As the war dragged depressingly on, as casualties mounted, conscription loomed as a divisive situation. Enthusiasm for the war waned until there was outright hostility to further Canadian involvement. Just as in the Boer War, the glamor of a quick, glorious victory did not materialize. For Canada, it was a costly lesson. She had paid a high price based on Britain's decision; the lesson was not to be lost.

Four years after the armistice ending the Great War and with little advanced warning, the Canadian government learned through the press that a crisis was brewing in the Near East. Britain invited the Dominions to send contingents of troops to the far away locale of Chanak to fight against the Turks. Prime Minister Mackenzie King called a special meeting of the cabinet, since Parliament was not in session. The assembled body decided that nothing could be done without the approval of Parliament. As if in reply to the official government stand, the leader of the opposition, Arthur Meighen, addressed the Toronto Business Men's Club two days after King's declaration. Meighen spoke on what he considered to be the two major problems facing Canada -- solidarity of the Empire and national railway problems in Canada. With respect to the former, he declared:

> Let there be no dispute as to where I stand. When Britain's message came, then Canada should have said: 'Ready, aye ready: we stand by you'.[6]

The mood of the country had changed, however. No longer was the public ready to follow blindly the leadership of Britain and all things British. What had happened? Certainly the war and its horrific impact on the Canadian public had emphasised the notion that the country should have some say in its destiny. It is probable, too, that the intense immigration policies pursued at the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, bringing in thousands of non anglo-saxon settlers, helped to contribute to the weaning away from British influences. Whatever the reasons, the lessening of British influence or an attraction of American ideas, a certain amount of confidence and brashness was being demonstrated in Canada as the new century progressed. Laurier's statement that the twentieth century would belong to Canada was being considered by many as a statement of fact rather than an optimistic opinion.

With respect to sport, one of the interesting developments relating to the concept of professionalism, was the notion that a professional in one sport was considered to be a professional in all. In a legalistic way, the concept was still one associated with money. To have received money in one sport meant that the athlete had "tainted" himself in all sport. Coupled with this was the intended difficulty of regaining one's status as an amateur. Sports governing bodies, such as the O.H.A., were intent on making the consequences of "professionalization" life-long: "The man makes himself a professional and the O.H.A. should never unmake him",[7] it stated. In a further attempt to dissuade the athlete from professional sport, amateur bodies professionalized his team and all members of the opposition. With no alternatives to amateur competition for the athlete, these severe restrictions were such that the "transgressor" was effectively deterred from becoming a professional dependent upon money to perfect his athletic skills.

Oddly enough, one of the main influences in breaking down these severe proscriptions was the situation in England. Cricket had always allowed competition between

Gentlemen and Players (i.e. amateurs and professionals) with no apparent harmful effect on either class. In Association football, amateur-professional competitions were sanctioned for the Cup Final as early as 1883. A professional was simply one who registered with the Football Association as a professional; it mattered not if he were a professional in another sport, he had to be classified as one in football in order to be known as such, or, have received "something in excess of his actual train or hotel expenses."[8] In addition, he could be

> . . . a gentleman-amateur cricketer who is appointed to a sinecure post at three hundred pounds a year. He may play without pay at association football and be an amateur. There may be a paid professional cricketer at three pounds to five pounds a match, quite unfit to dress with the unpaid amateur; he may, however, be an amateur footballer.[9]

The above situation was far removed from the Canadian scene in spirit, as well as geography. Hockey players could be professionalized if they received expense payments for wages missed by virtue of being hurt in a hockey game; whole teams could be professionalized for playing with or against an athlete who had been already so characterized. As far as the Ontario Hockey Association was concerned, all members of the Senior Lacrosse Series were to be categorized as professionals and therefore barred from amateur hockey as players or delegates.[10]

It was these two sports, lacrosse and hockey, which were to contribute most to the establishment of a commercial basis for professional sport. Connected with them were trophies donated by Governors General: the Stanley Cup for Hockey and the Minto Cup for lacrosse. From the first time that the Minto Cup was challenged for, in 1901, it was to act as an incentive to develop good teams. The first match, witnessed by 8,000 spectators including the Earl and Duchess of Minto, was to have the same catalytic effect that the Stanley Cup had. During the nineteenth century, it was generally felt, by the press certainly, that the various clubs harbored professionals, that is paid players. Officially, however, it was not admitted; all teams were amateur.

Soon after the turn of the century, the Ottawa Capitals proposed that each team in the senior series be allowed to play a number of "declared professionals". The idea was that a club could announce to the public that it was paying certain of its players, their names would be sent to the CAAU and amateur players could compete against them without losing their amateur status.[11] The idea was not a new one; both cricket and golf subscribed to similar arrangements. The CAAU turned down the proposal, stating that football and hockey and the other branches would demand the same privileges, "which in consequence would ruin amateur sport in this country."[12]

The question seemed to revolve around two notions:

whether a city's representative team should consist of local players who were able to play for a senior team after having played for the local junior and intermediate aggregations, as was the case in Orillia, or, "the American idea -- hiring athletes to play your games for you."[13] Clubs in both the NALU and the CLA preferred the latter way. When the time came to send a Canadian representative team to the 1904 Olympic Games in St. Louis, Toronto's team was the choice. It was said, however, that twenty-one of Toronto's twenty-four players were professionals, that is, paid. As a result, the Winnipeg Shamrocks represented Canada, defeating the United States representative for the gold medal. It was during that same year that the CAAU suspended all of the eastern teams from the Canadian Lacrosse Association, including Orillia. In turn, the National Amateur Lacrosse Association resigned from the CAAU.

Because of the lacrosse developments, the playing of the Minto Cup matches was in jeopardy. As a result, the CAAU made the strange concession that the Montreal Shamrocks, winners of the NALU, could play the CLA representative from Brantford for the benefit of the gate receipts, without the Cup as a prize and without the loss of amateur status. If the Canadian Lacrosse Association rejoined the CAAU on the latter's terms, Brantford, if they won, would be allowed to keep the Cup; if they won and did not rejoin, the Cup would belong to the NALU champions. The arrangements were very unorthodox and evoked the following comment:

> Of all the remarkable doings of this truly remarkable organization, this latest is the climax. To hold the Shamrocks, the CAAU goes to the extremity of reinstating professionals to allow the Irishmen to get the benefit of the big gate receipts of a Cup match with a steel chain attached to the Cup.[14]

The ensuing contest saw the Montreal team defeat the Brantford entry; a "professional" team had won the Minto Cup.

Perhaps as a result of the furore with the amateur governing body, both rival lacrosse leagues decided that the time was appropriate to develop independently from the restrictive influences of the CAAU. Indications of the new direction were provided by the announcement of the proposed changes in the NALU constitution so as

> . . . to do away with the clause which binds the Union to accept the rulings of the CAAU. Secondly, to add a rule that a player who has played more than two senior games either in the CLA or the NALU be not eligible to play for any other NALU team for two seasons afterwards. Thirdly, to consider as amateur, any player who accepts remuneration but does not depend upon it for a livelihood.[15]

The proposals were significant for two main reasons. First, the lacrosse union was accepting the fact that money was part of its sport. This being the case, some measure of regulation was needed so as to prohibit the moving of players from one club to the other in search of better salaries. The reserve clause was already in vogue in baseball. It tied the player to his club for the remainder of his career, the club willing. The NALU proposal was designed to do similarly, but for a two year period. Perhaps more significant was the open acceptance of a sum of money for sport with no affect on one's amateur status. The inference was clear; money of its own nature had no detrimental effect on the sport or the athlete. By linking the money with the notion of time, the further inference was being made that to be a "professional" implied a commitment of time.

The feeling in lacrosse was general. Both of the NALU and the CLA were determined that professional and amateur athletes should compete with one another with no harmful results. In 1905, the Canadian Lacrosse Association allowed open competition by stating that amateur athletes would "not lose their amateur standing by competing with or against professionals in lacrosse matches for which no money prizes are given or in championship competition permitted by a lacrosse association."[16] When the NALU petitioned the CAAU to be allowed to play with or against professionals, permission was granted,[17] but only after a late, argumentative meeting. As the meeting progressed, the president, Captain Gorman, left his chair as head of the CAAU in order to emphasize his opposition to the proposal. Tempers flared when the Ottawa representative proposed that clubs be allowed to play with, as well as against, professionals. The action was sustained by the close margin of five votes to four, arguments pro and con carrying on well into the next day.[18]

Interestingly, the new regulation was not enacted in 1905. At the instigation of the MAAA team, the regulation had been proposed so as to be able to play exhibition games against the CLA teams, probably with a view to the anticipated gate receipts. When it was discovered that the latter league had no open dates, a subsequent meeting of the NALU decided, after much strenuous argument, that the newly passed legislation should not be put into effect. It was reasoned that since the primary purpose of the legislation could not, now, be met, care should be taken so as not to further irritate a delicate situation with the CAAU. It was better, some argued, to wait for the annual meeting to see what action the CAAU would advocate. The Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, however, was adamant. The club had already signed two professionals. It was apparent that the other members of the NALU were concerned as much with the strength of the Montreal team as they were with the action of the CAAU. It was decided to delay the enactment of the legislation allowing for the open competition. "The decision was strongly protested against by the Montreal representatives who left the meeting without voting."[19]

In the end, though, it was only a matter of time before the Montreal AAA viewpoint prevailed. In 1906 a number of developments took place which put lacrosse on a commercial basis. First, the Toronto Tecumseh Lacrosse Club withdrew from the CLA and joined the rival organization. Then the CLA, devoid of a Toronto representative, dropped its senior series. And finally the NALU eliminated the word "Amateur" in its title and became known as the National Lacrosse Union and severed its ties with the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union.

Within the newly created Union, amateurs and professionals could play with or against each other. The proposal was made that each club submit a list of paid players with the amounts paid in salary to each. This was turned down. Montreal on its own initiative, however, continued this practise. In an effort to equalize competition, territorial rights were given to the various teams. The two Toronto teams were allowed to recruit talent from west of Kingston while the other four clubs, Ottawa, Cornwall and the three Montreal clubs, shared the area east of Kingston. Players were to remain the property of a team for a two year period, or less, at the club's option. Fifty dollars was the admission fee and a club not filing a game report was to be fined ten dollars.[20]

Amid predictions in some quarters that these developments would harm lacrosse, "it was apparent that the professional game, by setting a high standard of play, stimulated amateurs to improve their game in order to qualify for a place on the senior team. This influenced the game because the individual was less important and team play was paramount, as the game became more scientific."[21] The new regulations met with success in almost every way. The clubs in Montreal represented the various ethnic and religious groups so as to allow for a ready made following. The AAA club was predominately Anglo-Saxon and protestant; the Shamrocks, Irish and Catholic; the Nationals, French and Catholic. Teams from Ottawa, Cornwall and Toronto with two, made up the rest of the league. Certainly the arrangement was financially rewarding; the Montreal AAA announced that "total paid salaries were $3,300, including $1,200 to trainer Dumphy. Lacrosse receipts were $15,000."[22] Naturally, the clubs were happy with the new arrangements; attendances were good throughout the league, with as many as 7,000 paid spectators at some Toronto games. The high calibre of play led to improved spectator satisfaction. After years of being conditioned to believe that the introduction of money into the sport would somehow change the character of the game and the players, the Star somewhat breathlessly reported a victory by the Torontos over their inter-city rivals, the Tecumsehs:

> They yelled like schoolboys and tossed their sticks high in the air when they doubled the score in the last quarter on Charlie Querrie's tribe. Talk about your professionals spoiling the game! Not much. Those fellows were just as anxious to win and worked just as hard as

> if they were simon pure amateurs and in the finale, their joy was just as great.[23]

The lacrosse situation was to act as an influence on another Canadian sport, hockey. Promotors who saw the large gatherings in attendance at lacrosse games brought there by the improved calibre of play as a result of "enforced" practise, saw the opportunity for the same arrangement for hockey. Each sport indirectly influenced the other. Since their seasons were not in conflict, in fact they complemented each other, it was a natural arrangement for many athletes to play both sports. Hockey players who had accepted money would only be able to play lacrosse if the amateur-professional restrictions were removed. So too with the lacrosse players who wished to play hockey. While professional hockey teams had existed earlier (their development will be dealt with more fully later), the year 1906 was significant in establishing that a professional and amateur could compete together with no effect on one's status.

Reports from Montreal favored a movement towards "open" competition in hockey encompassing paid and unpaid players.[24] In Ottawa a number of players were being professionalized by the CAAU, among them Harvey Pulford, Frank McGee, Elmo Smith, Arthur Moore, and Harry Westwick,[25] all well known hockey players. In the midst of these developments the Eastern Canada Hockey Association gathered in Windsor in its annual meeting. A number of important decisions were made, among them to withdraw from the CAAU "and adopt the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association's plan of allowing amateurs to play with and against professionals without losing their amateur standing.[26] The decision was reached unanimously. It was seen as "the only solution of the athletic tangle which was now puzzling experts."[27] The league further decided that the names of players who received money should be published so as to allow the public to know. "It was agreed by all that the only way that they could get good hockey players was to pay them and it really was of no moment whether a player took money or not but that if he was playing for fun he should get the credit for it."[28]

Amplification of the developments was provided by the Ottawa representative, Mr. McGee. He asserted that "the CAAU was not familiar with the hockey situation and was not capable, therefore, of regulating hockey affairs." He continued:

> The public wants good hockey and does not care whether a player is a professional or amateur as long as he can deliver the goods. To get good hockey we have to pay the players. We have had much trouble over the athletic situation. I think my motion will clear up the tangle as far as hockey is concerned and will eliminate hypocrisy.[29]

The sentiment was general that many of the good players were categorized as professionals. Once more, the link between professionals and quality in sport was in the process of being evolved. Money was used in other areas of Canadian life in order to recognize one's contribution and in effect to serve as a yardstick of one's value. Among some, the feeling was growing that the amateur, since he played his sport for no remuneration, perhaps his ability was not worthy of being remunerated. It appears that by this time the public was beginning to conceive of the amateur in terms of a novice; the professional as one who was proficient.

Ironically, the agency which led the movement for the original formation of the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada was responsible for the schism in amateur athletics which developed in 1907. The Stanley Cup was being openly competed for by professional clubs; the lacrosse situation was similar. It was within these circumstances that on February 1, 1907, the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association and twelve other clubs joined to form the Amateur Athletic Federation of Canada.[30] It was a new athletic body to rival the CAAU. Included among its objectives was the directive that "all clubs are to employ one or more professionals who are to play -- but they must be declared."[31] What has been characterized as the "Athletic War" had begun.[32] Clubs and associations affiliated with one or other of the established or the new athletic governing body. Some teams within associations did not agree on the affiliation. The Quebec Rugby Union opted for joining the Federation. When the Interprovincial Rugby Football Union was formed in 1907, problems developed. Montreal insisted on playing Ernie Russel, who having played hockey as a professional, was categorized as such by the CAAU. The latter body declared that anyone playing against Russel would be barred from the amateur ranks. It was to be the first game for the new league, between the Montreal AAA and the Toronto Argonauts, when the situation came to a head. Hewitt[33] best describes how the problem was resolved:

> The situation was rather nasty. If we played against Russel, there was the possibility that the Argonaut Club would become involved and its oarsmen barred from all rowing competitions. Our football players were prepared personally to take that chance, but no one wanted to penalize the rowers or the Club. So we huddled and it was agreed that we would play the game but under another name. Many of our players had been members of the Toronto football team, so we were billed as Torontos and thus saved the name and reputation of the Argonauts. Later after the tumult had ceased, we combined to call ourselves the Toronto Argonauts.

For slightly more than two years, the rival amateur bodies attempted to outdo each other in controlling sport in Canada. The Amateur Athletic Federation of Canada aligned itself with the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States while the CAAU did similarly with the English body. The jurisdictional matter was such that CAAU athletes were not sanctioned to compete in the United States while the same was true of AAF of C athletes in Great Britain. Reconciliation eventually took place in 1909 with the formation of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and a compromise definition of "amateur". While it is not the purpose of this discussion to investigate fully that definition,[34] some aspects are pertinent to this study and they will be mentioned. By way of prior amplification, it should be mentioned that amateur bodies have never stated that one who is not an amateur is automatically a professional. Therefore not every aspect of the amateur definition need be the concern of this examination.

The new definition had three categories. Category A stated that the athlete had never received any money beyond his actual travelling or hotel expenses for his athletic prowess. Offences against Category A were such that the athlete could never be reinstated. Category B stated:

> An athlete who has competed with or against a professional for a prize or where gate receipts are charged (except as may be specially provided for by the By-Laws of the Union) or has entered in any competition under any name other than his own, shall be ineligible for registration and competition as an amateur. Note — Such an athlete may be eligible for reinstatement.[35]

Category C simply stated that other athletes would be eligible for registration and competition.

Interestingly enough, the exceptions, referred to in Category B directed that an athlete would not lose his amateur status "by competing with or against a professional in cricket, golf or indoor bowling."[36] Hockey would remain exempt for a one year period while lacrosse would be similarly treated for an indefinite period of time.[37] While the inference was that there were certain differing concepts of amateurism, the same held true regarding professionalism.

> The selection of golf, cricket and indoor bowling as sports in which amateurs were able to compete side by side with professionals were not randomly made. Teaching professionals had long been part of these sports and as all were relatively upper class diversions, not particularly popular with spectators, promotors and itinerant professionals, the Union apparently felt that amateurs would not be corrupted by participating with or against their instructors.[38]

In effect, it was being said that "amateur" and "professional" still had a class tinge attached to it. The upper class was able to cope with the menace of professionalism, whereas, those who played other sports, presumably those below upper class status, were not. This concept of elitism had been a part of amateurism since its inception: sport in the hands of the aristocracy and gentry was pure; played by the common people, it was likely to be corrupted. The farther down the social scale, the more corrupt one was likely to be and therefore in need of guidance.

This feeling, a minority view it must be stated but nonetheless a held one, was still in evidence in Canada during the twentieth century's early years. When the Oshawa amateur status "by competing with or against a professional in cricket, golf or indoor bowling."[36] Hockey would remain exempt for a one year period while lacrosse would be similarly treated for an indefinite period of time.[37] While the inference was that there were certain differing concepts of amateurism, the same held true regarding professionalism.

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This feeling, a minority view it must be stated but nonetheless a held one, was still in evidence in Canada during the twentieth century's early years. When the Oshawa

Lacrosse Club signed Jake Peters, a Snye Indian, to its team, the event was considered to be newsworthy chiefly because of his race.[39] Similar headlines announcing: "Indian On The Brantford Team" proclaimed "Andrew Bumberry (Indian)"[40] as part of the Brantford lacrosse team of 1905. Perhaps Canada's most famous track and field athlete, Tom Longboat, an Onondaga Indian, was constantly harassed during his career as an amateur with charges of professionalism.

The previously mentioned method of identifying athletes of the Indian and Negro race continued during the early years of the twentieth century. In either case, total assimilation into the Canadian mainstream was, and still is, difficult because of skin color. The Negro athlete, in written reports, was always identified by the enjoinder (negro) or (coloured) after his name, as mentioned previously. Even when clubs came to be formed on the basis of skill, there is evidence to indicate that he was likely to be excluded on the basis of his color. (For example, it has only been since the second world war that the negro athlete has been permitted to play in professional baseball.) When the Ottawa Rough Riders were preparing for their 1912 football season, newspaper reports[41] indicated that Ottawa "may waive the Colour line" and use Gordon Simpson, a coloured athlete from Toronto known for his speed and punting ability. While the Ottawa coach commented that there was no color line in football, it was concretely evident that there was such a line in the sport of boxing.

Tommy Burns, the young Canadian from Hanover, had lost his heavyweight championship fight to Jack Johnson in Australia on December 26, 1908. (The Toronto Daily Star of December 24, 1908 had asked this question of its readers: What chance will a colored person have to live in Hanover, Ontario if Noah gets his? The answer given: As much chance as a dog with tallow legs chasing an asbestos cat through the fiery furnace.) Burns, of course was born Noah Brusso in Hanover, Ontario. Johnson, a negro, eventually went on to defeat Jack Jeffries, the chief contender for the crown and thereby set off a search for a "white hope" to win back the boxing crown from "the big Ethiopian". White hope competitions took place throughout North America, including Canada, one of the most notorious taking place at Calgary, Alberta on May 24, 1913. After his defeat by Johnson, Tommy Burns was very active in the search for a "white hope". In a bout promoted by Tommy Burns, between top contender Luther McCarty of Chicago and Arthur Pelkey, of Chatham, Ontario, McCarty was dead after less than two minutes of the first round. Only a month earlier the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada had declared that "no coloured boxer would be allowed to compete in the Canadian championships . . . competition of whites and coloured men was not working out to the increased growth of the sport."[42]

With respect to Indians, they could be identified visually as such, or at least as non-white, as could the negroes. In written reports, as long as the native name was used, he was readily identifiable as an Indian, the competitor therefore being able to decide in advance whether he wanted to compete against him. As soon as the Indian was given his christian name and the Negro his "slave name", it became almost impossible to determine his race from written reports. Thus it became necessary to place after his name, the suffix "Indian" or (Coloured). As soon as these athletes achieved a measure of proficiency, invariably charges of professionalism were levelled.

Tom Longboat serves as an excellent example of the above. Born at Caledonia in 1888, his entrance on the Canadian sporting scene was made in 1906. He entered, and won, the Hamilton Around The Bay Road Race. A short time later, he was victorious in his second long distance race finishing first in Toronto's Ward Marathon, a fifteen mile race. After winning a third race in Hamilton, the "Indian" as he was beginning to be called, moved to Toronto in order to come under the "civilizing influences of the YMCA",[43] and prepared for the running of the Boston Marathon. Longboat was given much publicity prior to that event; much more after it was announced that the American Amateur Athletic Union questioned his amateur standing. The United States body was prepared to keep the trophy if Longboat won the race. It was evident that the runner was being used, for the first time, as a lever in the "Athletic War". The Canadian Amateur Athletic Union angrily declared that Longboat was an amateur and as such was "all right and that goes."[44]

Special editions of the Toronto Star and the Telegram carried the news of Longboat's victory. In Toronto, preparations were immediately made to give "the dusky warrior" one of that city's greatest welcomes. Longboat, who appeared with a Union Jack thrown over his shoulders, was hailed as the "champion amateur long distance runner of America" and listened as the mayor pledged, on behalf of the city, to express its appreciation "in a more tangible manner by making a substantial contribution to a fund which is being provided by the citizens for the purpose of assisting you in acquiring a thorough education."[45]

The $500.00 purse was immediately seized upon by the American Union officials, as well as the American associated Federation of Canada, as evidence of Longboat's professional status. The protest was passed off as simply evidence that the AAU of the United States was displeased with the CAAU for not being allowed to investigate the Canadian.[46]

The above notwithstanding, Tom Longboat was to be suspended twice in 1907. On the one occasion he ran afoul of amateur regulations by not applying for the necessary permission to compete in a meet at Buffalo; on the other he was suspended on moral grounds.[47] The latter suspension had remained in effect for a period of three months after which he was reinstated. The charge revolved around Longboat's having indulged in alcoholic beverages and the smoking of cigars. As a result, Longboat parted with the Toronto YMCA, the "bronzed warrior" turning to Tom Flanagan and the Irish Canadian Club. Flanagan was a budding entrepreneur specializing in sporting events and it was under his guidance that the young marathoner was to become the subject of numerous charges of professionalism.

Flanagan was to acquire much notoriety in the second decade of the twentieth century as the manager of the negro boxer, Jack Johnson. However, his reputation as a promotor was being made in track and field long before he was to turn to boxing. Being a very aware entrepreneur, he was able to use the amateur-professional situation to his maximum benefit. It was recalled:[48]

> One time an athletic meet sponsored by Flanagan and Elwood Hughes was planned for the Toronto Armouries. Ticket sales had been slow and a couple of days before the big night, there were no prizes in sight. That is, there weren't any until Tom was walking along Queen Street and noticed a small shop window filled with colourful novelties — tie pins, cuff links, rings and the like. Tom was so intrigued by the possibilities that he went in and inquired of the surprised shop-keeper, "how much for the whole window?"
>
> The merchant appraised his stock and announced: "It's good stuff. Thirty dollars."

> "I'll take it", Flanagan declared. And that was how the prizes for the big meet were obtained. But they didn't find favour with all the winners.
>
> One lad had been rewarded with a ring which he didn't value very highly, so he approached Flanagan and complained: "This ring is junk. That thing in the centre of it looks like a piece of coal."
>
> "Coal?", exclaimed Tom, "You call that coal? let me tell you something, me lad, that's a rare mineral, a black diamond. What's more, if you don't want to accept it, just leave it here and I'll give you fifty dollars instead."
>
> "You will?", shouted the startled athlete.
> "I will", Flanagan answered.
> Then as he withdrew his hand from his pocket, he hesitated for a moment.
>
> "Me boy", Tom continued with a soothing concern, "I was just about to give you that fifty dollars. But it just occurs to me. Do you know what would happen if I gave you that money? You would become a professional. You would be barred for life from all amateur sport. Son, I just thought of that in time. I wouldn't want to do it to you. You're too good an athlete."
>
> "Thanks Mr. Flanagan," the lad replied, "I guess if the ring's worth fifty dollars to you, it's worth that much to me. I'll keep it."

Whether it was because of Longboat being under Flanagan's care or for other reasons, the fear was very real in the mind of the Montreal Star that Tom would forsake the amateur ranks, become a professional and therefore not be eligible to represent Canada in the 1908 Olympics in London, England. The Montreal newspaper, through its proprietor Hugh Graham, announced:

> If at the end of five years, you are still in the athletic field and it can be truthfully said of you that you have resisted temptation, kept temperate and arranged yourself always to be on the side of clean sport, I shall be most pleased to hand you a cheque for $2,000.00. If you should be selected to represent Canada at the Olympic Games in England next year, you may if you choose go at the expense of the Montreal Star.[49]

Longboat was much in demand during the remainder of 1907 and well into 1908. The noted English professional runner, Alfie Shrubb, was continually attempting to arrange a match race. Various proposals were investigated so as to arrange a competition within the amateur regulations but with no success. Longboat and his manager, Flanagan, seemed intent on representing Canada at the Olympics, and the much publicized eventuality did not materialize.

Because of Longboat's inability to attend the Olympic trials, he was not invited to travel with the official Canadian team. He was told, however, that he would be able to go at his own expense, in which case his money would be refunded if he won. Flanagan, in a promotional coup, convinced the Irish-Canadian Club to underwrite their representative's expenses, the result being that Longboat was sent to Ireland to train prior to the Games. In the interim, the problems between the CAAU and the Amateur Athletic Federation disturbed the previously agreed on truce with Longboat being at the centre of the renewed hostilities. The United States Amateur Athletic Union, through the Amateur Athletic Federation, its Canadian affiliate, accused Longboat of being a professional by virtue of his having competed in unsanctioned American meets in 1907. The charge, made by the Federation's representative, Leslie Boyd, was investigated and dropped by the Olympic Games officials. Longboat was declared an amateur. The Federation was roasted unmercifully in the Canadian press for its "treachery".

The race itself was a disappointment to Longboat and his aspirations. At the twenty mile mark, under a hot sun, he collapsed, unable to finish. Various people attempted to explain the unexpected. Longboat simply said that he suddenly felt like a log; Flanagan blamed the heat, a doctor, sunstroke. John Howard Crocker, who attended to Longboat at the time, stated that it was Longboat's heart -- he would never race again. Newspapers in Canada, which of course had been preparing their readers all week long for the Canadian's marathon victory, suddenly turned on Longboat with a vengeance. It almost appeared that the newspapers were refusing to admit that they could have been wrong; rather it must have been Longboat who had been at fault. Many of the bitter comments had the tone of betrayal and centred around Longboat's race:

> After yesterday's happening, we suggest Longboat's name be changed to Sitting Bull . . . .

> And to think that Longboat had not the staying quality of a Philadelphia milk-fed chicken . . . .
>
> Who is this man Longboat anyway? Is he the latest demonstration of the fact education ruins the red man . . . .
>
> "Come to papa", remarked Flanagan, as he took Longboat on his knee (not over it) and wiped away the tears of the broken-hearted redskin.
>
> No longer will Tom Flanagan refer to Longboat as "my man Friday".
>
> In fact, Longboat can now discard his citizen's clothes for the regulation war paint and the fine features of the reservation.[51]

Rumors circulated that Longboat was drinking champagne the night prior to the race and that he had bet ten pounds and "sold" the race. J. Howard Crocker submitted a report in September in which he charged that Longboat, in his opinion, had been drugged.[52] The controversy flourished while Longboat, returning to Canada, embarked on a busy international schedule. Rumors of professionalism followed everywhere. After one such race in Williamstown, Pennsylvania, it was mentioned that instead of a cup valued at $100, perhaps a piece of furniture or some similar item might be substituted. After all, stated Flanagan, Longboat had many cups. The race promotors at first refused. Later, however, after Longboat had won his race, the officials stated that "'something else' could be given to Longboat instead of the cup. The something else referred to money; the feeling was that the Amateur Athletic

Federation of Canada had made a deliberate plant"[53] in order to be able to declare him a professional. The apparent ruse failed and Flanagan in an attempt to give public credence to the amateur standing of his protege "publicly offered to give $1,000 to charity if an accuser could prove his charges."[54] The money was never claimed.

Perhaps because of the insinuations or perhaps because of the necessity to earn a living, Longboat's tenure as an amateur ended in 1908. Newspaper headlines announced: "Longboat Has Taken Plunge Into Pro Ranks."[55] The story went on to say that . . .

> Tom Longboat, the Indian running sensation of the past two years has become a professional. That this was the ultimate wind-up of the Onandaga's career, no one doubted but beyond fruitless negotiations nothing was done until Saturday. On Saturday, T.C. Flanagan, manager of the Irish Canadians and the Indian's mentor was interviewed by Controller John J. Ward, a CAAU governor, Rev. J.D. Morrow the well known athletic meet official and former quarter mile champion of Canada and P.J. Mulqueen, the President of the Irish Canadians.
>
> These three gentlemen, backed up by another prominent CAAU officer pointed out that as Longboat could not work the same as other athletes did and his status was being continually questioned and that his legs were his fortune and professionalism his final goal, it would be better if he took the jump now when the running was good . . . . They proposed that the Indian should be transferred to the pro ranks under Flanagan's management and that the money he earned be turned over to a committee including W.J. Little, General Manager of the Montreal Star, John J. Ward and Rev. J.D. Morrow, these three to invest the money for Longboat's future use.

A somewhat more colorful version has been advanced by Hewitt:[56]

> A sports promotor interviewed Longboat. As the athlete fingered a large medal attached to a watch guard, he ruefully announced: "I've been running for these things long enough. Now I'm after all the money I can get."

In any event, Longboat embarked on an illustrious career, and in the process defeated Dorando of Italy, Hayes of the United States, Shrubb of England and St. Yves of France, all leading marathoners of the day in an era when the "marathon craze" was rampant. It appeared that everybody was caught up in the competitions which were continually written up in the media as a contest involving nationality against nationality. The Telegram devoted as much coverage as any newspaper. In its reports, even with the popularity of Longboat and marathon running, it appears that the moral characterization of the professional was still much in evidence. It reported that in "legitimate sporting circles, hope was expressed that when the snow leaves us the marathon craze will go withit. At the best and at the worst, it is a press agent's game. It is simply a gate money getter fed by those people anxious to see those celebrities manufactured by numerous newspaper paragraphs."[57]

Canada has been described as a nation "in favour of immigration but against having immigrants."[58] Perhaps the charge is somewhat harsh but it is a documented fact that during the first years of the twentieth century the thousands of newcomers from Europe were first known colloquially as "bohunks" or "dagos" rather than the later accepted "new Canadians".[59] Immigration into the country was so prevalent, particularly in the west (it was stated that prior to World War one some seventy languages could be heard on the streets of Winnipeg)[60] that a type of tension based on cultural differences was the result. In the field of sport, when a newspaper reader wondered if the victory of St. Yves, the French marathoner who won a race in Toronto, and Dorando, the Italian who defeated Shrubb and Longboat in another event, was indicative of the superiority of the Latin race over the Anglo-Saxon, the reply made was that since Longboat had at one time or another defeated them all, perhaps the Indian race was superior to all races.[61] Longboat's popularity as an attraction was evident from the statement that "hunting Indians used to be confined to the dime novels; nowadays it is the sport of the dollar-a-ticket marathon promotors."[62]

Although the popular marathon runner was honored some twenty years after his death by the establishment of the Longboat Memorial Trophy, to be awarded annually to the outstanding Indian athlete, his life was a mixture of curiosity and tragedy. Married in a public ceremony at Massey Hall, his subsequent falsely reported death during the first war and his wife's remarriage based on that faulty information heightened the public's interest in him. With the demise of the "marathon craze" after the first war, he journeyed to Edmonton, still a curiosity but also a legend. While there, he gave demonstrations in running against the clock.[63] He eventually returned to Toronto where he worked as a street cleaner. He died in 1949 and was buried at his reservation, interred in full ceremonial dress. "His funeral was the most important held among the Onandagas in many years. He had been known as 'Big Chief' and the homage that was paid him . . . was the same as a chief would receive."[64]

Whereas Longboat, by virtue of his talent and as a result of the "marathon craze", was able to continue his running because of the commercial basis of the long distance events, the same was not true of other track and field athletes. The poignancy of this latter statement was evident in the report that two rather prominent athletes were relieved from their work because of their participation in athletic meets. "Chuck" Skene won the walking championship at Halifax and returned to Toronto to find himself relieved from his job. Just four days prior, it was announced that Wood, the first Canadian to finish in the Olympic marathon of 1908, had been similarly replaced.[65] These two examples simply serve to illustrate the notion that athletic competitive conditions were such that high level contests were sought after. As well, technology was available to make the events possible. Yet it was only as a professional, that is, one who was commercially supported by his sport, that the athlete felt freely capable of developing and satisfying his potential.

The notion, too, that the professional represented quality whereas the amateur was the novice was also gaining greater acceptance at this time, manifesting itself in the form of many puns. When the Hamilton YMCA basketball team withdrew from the CAAU in order to affiliate with the rival Federation, it was promptly branded as "professional" by the former body. When they played and lost a number of games against the rival Buffalo German Club, it was noted that "Hamilton's famous basketball team may be pros in name but the record against Buffalo Germans would almost justify them in applying for reinstatement."[66] More than just the traditional Hamilton-Toronto rivalry was present when the Toronto Telegram commented about Billy Sherring's decision to become a professional marathoner. The winner of the 1906 Athens Games had little choice since he had already been so categorized by the CAAU, he had accepted prizes and gifts on his return to Canada. "Bill Sherring has renounced everything and turned professional", reported the Telegram, "while, alas, the Spectator sporting department continues to amble along in the amateur class."[67]

That "the gulf separating the 'simon pure' from he who returns his athletic services for the coin of the realm"[68] was widening, was becoming increasingly evident in the sport of hockey. While many teams had become professionalized by the CAAU by virtue of their having offered players inducements, the attraction of gates and the challenge for the Stanley Cup was such that many leagues openly defied amateur regulations in order to attract players. The Pittsburgh situation with its attraction of a longer season because of artificial ice has been previously mentioned. It was because of these various influences that many clubs felt that it should be acceptable to have paid and non-paid (professional and amateur) players competing with and against each other. Whereas, in other sports if a player was professionalized, for example track and field, there was no alternative for him but to remain athletically inactive, the same was not necessarily true in the gate-receipt sports.

In hockey, in 1903, the Cornwall team was barred from the OHA because of professionalism. Because the feeling of "open" competition or "mixing professionals" as it was then known, was prevalent in the eastern townships and Montreal, other clubs simply banded around Cornwall to form their own league. Thus the Federal Amateur Hockey League was formed, including Cornwall, Ottawa, and two Montreal teams, the Nationals and the Wanderers.[69] Although called Amateur, the league allowed the payment of players.

Even in the University circles the situation was such that the relationship of money with evil was being questioned. When the University of Toronto, along with the Sault Ste. Marie Algonquins defied the OHA prohibition and played against teams from Houghton, Michigan and the Michigan Sault, they claimed they could not see the rationale behind the ban; they were each suspended from competing in the OHA series.[70]

Whereas Pittsburgh's attraction to Canadian hockey players was in its artificial ice, the resultant longer season and therefore increased gate receipts, some of which would be available for the players, the attraction of the cities of Northern Michigan was their new wealth based on copper. Houghton was a community of some thirty five hundred people; diversions were needed and hockey seemed to be of the most popular. Hockey emissaries from the small community ranged east and west into Canada in their search for players of talent. Their "scouting", or "prospecting" as it was then phrased, was felt as far away as Winnipeg where the Victorias of that city refused to play the Rowing Club if Joe Hall, the latter's rover and forward, took part.[71] Ostensibly the reason given was his "ungentlemanly conduct"[72] but more likely it was related to his having been paid to play hockey. Hall had arrived in Winnipeg from Brandon on his way to Houghton where he was to play hockey for a salary of $40 per week. He decided to stay in Winnipeg for the winter and play for the Rowing Club in its series against

Ottawa. Since their return from the east, Hall had played three games with the Winnipeg team and apparently did not have any visible means of support. The reaction was predictable: "it was a well known case that Hall is a gentleman of leisure when not engaged in hockey games and practises and it is equally as public that he has not the means to be one. Why is it so?"[73]

Conditions were such that the first outright professional hockey league in North America was founded in the United States in 1904. Named the International Hockey League, it consisted of teams from Houghton, Calumet, Pittsburgh, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan and Saulte Ste. Marie, Ontario.[74] Players' salaries were between twenty-five and seventy-five dollars per week with twelve games to be played in each city, the schedule to last from December 14 to March 15. It was probably the only arrangement that would have worked at the time. Pittsburgh had the attraction of its artificial ice and the other cities were far enough north that a long season of cold weather was assured.

Publicity about the new league was intensive throughout the two countries. It alternated between focusing on the high salaries being paid, a certain amount of incredulity being the result, and the roughness of play. In the context of the times, it was probably only natural that these two should be emphasized; a working man could not be a gentleman and therefore could not have proper control of himself. It was only natural that there was rough and "ungentlemanly conduct". Joe Hall, the Winnipeg Rowing Club player was by this time playing with Houghton's team, the Portage Lakers. In what was described as the "roughest game ever played", he was arrested and taken into custody for swearing at the referee.[75] By this time, Hall's reputation was such that he was commonly known as "Bad Joe".[76]

In Canada, the Stanley Cup was in the possession of Ottawa's famed Silver Seven, later to be named the most outstanding team of the first half century. More properly known as the Capitals, they were known colloquially as the Silver Seven because "their manager as a token of victory had given each player a silver nugget."[77] While the Stanley Cup, after 1903, was the property of league champions wherever it was held, challenges were still honored from almost every part of the Dominion. As in the professional league, it was mining money which was being used to secure the Cup. Although teams had challenged from as far away as Winnipeg, that city winning the Cup in 1896, it was in January of 1905 that the national impact of the Stanley Cup was being realized. The Yukon Territory was the scene of the "gold rush". Prospectors, as well as hockey players were so plentiful that some wealthy mining men suggested that Dawson City issue a challenge for the Cup. Their challenge accepted, the group left on the nineteenth of December. Travelling by dogsled, boat and train, they covered the 4000 miles in twenty-three days. The Ottawa team easily defeated the Yukon representatives by scores of 9-2 and 23-2, Frank McGree scoring 14 goals in the latter game. The Dawson team, undeterred, embarked on a tour of eastern Canada where they evinced much publicity while holding their own with many of the teams they played.

Rat Portage, afterwards to be known as Kenora, was another mining and distribution centre which endeavored to attract hockey players in an effort to win the Stanley Cup. Having challenged unsuccessfully in 1903 and lost some eight hundred dollars in the process, the Thistles openly "prospected" for players. Tom Phillips, from the Toronto Marlboros, "a really great player who managed to see Canada from club to club",[78] was one such player. Challenging again in 1905, they narrowly lost to Ottawa's team in a series "so brilliant that one observer called it the most scientific ever played."[79] Having played, and lost, Phillips stayed in Ontario to recruit players. Money seemed to be of no object, one player, Gross, the cover-point for Berlin being simply asked what terms were necessary for him to go to Rat Portage for the next season.[80] With such "prospecting", Rat Portage, its name changed to Kenora in 1907, finally won the Stanley Cup in January of that year. Their tenure as champions was short-lived; they lost it in March of the same year.

If copper and iron ore money had induced many good players to travel to the United States, it was profits from cobalt and silver which were being used to outbid American cities in an effort to repatriate them to northern Ontario cities. "It was an era in which money talked louder than words and in northern Ontario gamblers were rampant."[81] Teams from New Liskeard, Cobalt and Haileybury imported good hockey players in an effort to defeat each other. "Cities were interested in the publicity and the prestige of being the 'home of champions'."[82] It was an era of swashbuckling chauvinism. Mike Rodden describes the fight which took place between representative teams from Haileybury and Cobalt:

> During the battle, Cobalt's Harry Smith, a notorious stick man, cut down so many opponents that the locals sent for the gendarmes and police chief Paddy Collins came running with his guns. The chief wasn't very big but he had the strength of a lion and the speed of a tiger. In no time at all he was piling the warring hockey players one on top of the other. He gently led Harry Smith away to the jail up on the hill. But when all Smith's victims eventually recovered he was released.
>
> On his arrival home at Cobalt, Smith was welcomed by the town band, led by promoter Tommy Hare, and there wasn't any favour too great for "Battling Harry". Not to be outdone by Cobalt's generosity, Haileybury retaliated by presenting all its players with a mine in the Elk Lake District.
>
> As that season advanced, it became a question of not who might win, but rather who would survive and why. Finally, came the game to end all games, and it was played in the Cobalt Arena, which had the general appearance of an aeroplane hangar. It was supposed to accommodate about twelve hundred fans. But that night, even the rafters were black with people,

> and at least two thousand spectators poured into the rink.
>
> The financial success of the game didn't depend on the gate receipts, for the real money was the staggering sums waged on the result. A local lawyer put up forty-five thousand dollars but he became so excited that he couldn't even watch the contest and left the arena quite early for a long walk in the bitter cold. A couple of well known Cobalt "chance takers" mortgaged all their possessions to cover a bet of fifty thousand dollars, waged by the wealthy Noah Timmins, the Haileybury sponsor.[83]

After regulation time, the game was tied. Timmins announced that he would give one thousand dollars to the player on his team who scored the winning goal in the "sudden death" overtime. After an exciting overtime session, Haileybury scored the deciding goal and "winning fans showered pennies, dimes, quarters, and even dollars on the ice. The air was filled with greenbacks and the players were trying to catch their floating fortune on the fly."[84]

While mining promotors were "panning" for talent to represent New Liskeard, Cobalt and Haileybury, other centres were involved in commercial hockey to varying degrees. In the International League, the first players' strike took place when members of the Pittsburgh team would not take to the ice prior to their league championship game. "The players refused to play unless their salaries were increased and the management, being caught cold, was compelled to comply with the requests of the players."[85] In Kenora, the Thistles decided to not challenge for the Cup.

In its stead, they decided to compete against International League teams. Although they openly recruited players, the Thistles were still considered amateur. When it was announced by the CAAU that the Thistles would lose their amateur status if the proposed contests took place, the Thistles disbanded for the year.[86]

The Thistles team of 1906, however, was certainly the exception as far as adhering to the dictums of the CAAU. The Ottawa Silver Sevens were professionalized and they, along with the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association representatives actively advocated the "mixing" of amateurs and professionals. At the Eastern Canada Amateur Hockey Association meeting of 1906, held in Windsor, a number of key decisions were made. The league seceded from the CAAU while opting for professional hockey. This decided, it was attempted to put the organization on a firm financial basis. Perhaps swayed by the earlier Pittsburgh strike, the league anticipated the option clause (and later the reserve clause) of future contracts. It was proposed that "a professional signed by a club must stay with it for that season and the next, two years in fact. This would prevent the players from jumping from one club to another and would also be a money saving devise for the clubs as bidding for players would be avoided. It would not be a paying scheme for the players and there would be no holdup."[87] The motion, however, was considered to be too drastic and was not carried.

It is a matter of conjecture whether it was the prevalent feeling of being allowed to "mix" amateurs with professionals which was responsible for the surge of open payments. More than likely, it was again the Stanley Cup which acted as the catalyst. After an existence of only slightly more than a decade, it was the most sought-after sporting trophy in Canada. With the professionalization of the Ottawa team by the CAAU, the opting of the Eastern teams for "open" competition and the tacit approval shown by the Cup trustees, it was readily apparent that if other teams wanted to successfully challenge, they too had to search for good players. In the west, a similar feeling was developing; the Manitoba Hockey League decided to allow professionals and amateurs "to mingle".[88] It was the only logical thing to do:

> the Stanley Cup is what they're all after and as it is held by a "pro" club, it is necessary to make the changes here abouts. They all get paid anyways so what's the difference. "Amateur" hockey in any of the big clubs is a joke. A lot of eastern players will likely be seen this way as a result of the change.[89]

The trend continued and in Toronto, a meeting of players was held in the Mutual Street rink to form the Toronto Hockey Club.[90] There were so many players who had been previously professionalized and with no team to attach themselves to that they decided to band together to form the new professional unit. Rather than play in any league (there simply weren't that many available) it was decided to play a series of exhibition games against New Liskeard, Haileybury and the cities of the International Hockey League. Even Kenora, now less anxious about the strictures of the CAAU, played exhibition contests against the new Toronto club.

In that same year of 1907, the spread of commercialized hockey took place. Kenora won its Stanley Cup only to lose it within two months to the Montreal Wanderers. The maritimes sent its first challenger to compete for the by now national symbol, the New Glasgow, Nova Scotia team being no match for the strong champions. It was in Ontario that the first outright professional hockey league in Canada made its appearance. Teams from Waterloo, Berlin, Galt, Brantford and Toronto banded together to form the "Trolley League". It was "so successful that it crowded amateur hockey right out of the picture."[91]

The tacit approval of the Stanley Cup trustees for open competition became concrete in 1908. In December of that year they declared that the Cup would be awarded to the best team "no matter how they are got together." The Stanley Cup trustee, William Foran, who replaced Sheriff Sweetland, "referring to the original stipulations laid down by the donor, (stated) emphatically: 'the Stanley Cup is not hung up for either amateur or professional hockey in particular but for the best hockey'."[92] That being done, the way was now clear, with few reservations, to openly pursue the best players available. That being stated, Edmonton, attempting to ice as strong a team as possible, sought to entice the Patrick brothers to join their team. In addition, they offered Montreal's outstanding player, Didier Pitre, $1,000 if he would join them.[93] In spite of luring such notables as Pitre, Lester Patrick, Tom Phillips and Harold McNamara, the Edmonton entry lost their bid to win the Stanley Cup in 1909, the Montreal Wanderers winning the series by thirteen goals to ten.

It was a players' market and with the suddenly increased demand for their services it was difficult to maintain any stability among the various teams and leagues. For many of the players it was simply a choice of which team could offer the best inducements. The player willing, he would play for a team which was, in effect, virtually a team of all-stars. This is not to say that the "all-star" team was automatically the winner but the situation was such that clubs were beginning to yearn for some semblance of organization; more often than not the solution was referred to as "baseball management".[94] It was suggested that an autocrat, a commissioner, was needed to "appoint referees and do other chores around the league."[95] At least one commentator, the writer for the Telegram, had some misgivings about the eastern teams being able to agree on the need for such a venture and further, once seeing the need, to finance it enthusiastically. It was stated that such a position was worth "thousands" of dollars but the conviction was expressed that "the eastern sports would probably want to pay one about six dollars a week and at six dollars a week, it would be worse than even the amateur managements than run the league now."[96]

The move towards the formation of a strong professional organization culminated in the formation of the National Hockey Association. Formed in 1909, its roots took hold in the unlikely small Ottawa Valley community of Renfrew. On December 18, 1908, that city announced its intention of fielding a professional hockey team. Within days of the announcement, the re-organized Federal League was formed, teams from Renfrew, Cornwall, Smith's Falls and Ottawa (Senators) comprising the new league. The following year, on November 13, 1909, the Eastern Canada Hockey Association met in Montreal in an attempt to put the Eastern League on a sound organizational basis. Five teams were represented at that meeting: the Montreal Shamrocks, Montreal Nationals, Montreal Wanderers, Quebec and Ottawa, the Stanley Cup holders.

All was not well with the five teams, however. There was some dissatisfaction that the Wanderers played their games at the smaller Jubilee Rink rather than the larger Wood Avenue Arena.[97] Clubs divided forty per cent of the gate receipts at that time and naturally, the larger the seating capacity, the more money could be available for the owners of the club. The fact that the Wanderer's owner also owned the Jubilee Rink only added to the friction. The decision had been made therefore to "freeze out"[98] the Wanderers. The Renfrew Club was anxious to place its new team in the established league and with that view in mind, Ambrose O'Brien was designated to investigate the possibility of a franchise.

The meeting relieved the Wanderers of its franchise, turned down the Renfrew bid and formed a new league -- the Canadian Hockey Association. While Wanderers' owner Jimmy Gardner and Ambrose O'Brien commiserated with each other, it soon became apparent that between the two of them, four teams were represented. The O'Brien family, in addition to the Renfrew organization, also owned substantial interests in the Cobalt and Haileybury teams. They decided that the one ingredient which was needed was a team of French Canadians representing Montreal. It was decided that the club should be known as Les Canadiens.[99] This "most famous club in French-Canadian sport was bankrolled and operated at the start by Irish-Canadians, M.J. and Ambrose O'Brien, on the understanding that it would be transferred to Montreal French sportsmen as soon as practicable."[100] The arrangements made, the new league was formed as the National Hockey Association. Immediately a bidding war started.

Renfrew attempting to avenge the slight of not being originally allowed into the older league and blaming Ottawa for it, endeavored to sign all of the latter's players. The high Renfrew salaries were countered by Ottawa promises of salaries plus civil service positions. The NHA city "raised its offers to $2,500 per man, with two year contracts, off-ice jobs for anyone who wanted them and all the money to be deposited right now in any bank the player chose."[101] Only Fred "Cyclone" Taylor moved from Ottawa to Renfrew but other players came from almost every part of the country, including the Patrick brothers from Edmonton. Officially named the Creamery Kings, they were colloquially known as the Millionaires because of O'Brien's penchant for spending money.

The Millionaires did not win the Stanley Cup; in fact the team suffered a loss of $1,000 on the season. Yet the enthusiasm for the team was not dimmed. After a trip to New York to play an exhibition game against Ottawa, the team returned to Renfrew for its post season banquet. Players such as Cyclone Taylor, Lester Patrick, Bert Lindsay and Newsy Lalonde were by now idolized by the populace and considered to be native sons. By their acceptance they helped to mold the emerging concept of the professional athlete. The Renfrew Mercury reported:

> As for the players, it is well known to those who have been in close companionship with them that they are not ordinary birds of passage of the type familiarly associated in the minds of the public with much

> professional sport. Some of them are men of business standing, whose occupation leaves them free in the winter, as well as men of education and ability and while much idle time is always a danger, the group have so conducted themselves here, so far as the Mercury can learn, as to win the respect of the citizens as well as their hearty admiration as expert exponents of a fine winter sport.102

In spite of their having lost in their bid to "buy" the Stanley Cup, the Millionaires and especially O'Brien, made some decisions which were to have a lasting effect on the development of hockey. One of his first moves was to transfer Didier Pitre to the Canadiens. Thus was established the precedent that was to last for many years; the Canadiens would have first call on players of French background. The success of the new venture was such that the rival Canadian Hockey Association wished to merge. Only Ottawa and the Shamrocks were admitted, enough to ensure the demise of the rival organization. Hockey was becoming "big business" and it was becoming evident that tighter organization was needed, from an owners viewpoint, if clubs were to survive in professional hockey.

The need was exemplified by a court case involving the new Canadiens and Didier Pitre. An outstanding hockey player, Pitre was a member of the ECHL team representing L'Association Athletique D'Amateurs Nationale. Both the Nationals and the Canadiens were attempting to mold a team which would have the following of the French community in

Montreal. In effect they were attempting to take advantage of the rivalry which existed between les anglais and francais. Pitre originally signed a contract with the Nationals during the 1910 season. He protested that the conditions of the contract were not met and moved to the rival Canadiens. The Nationals, in turn, served him with an interlocutory injunction which ordered Pitre to cease practising or playing with the Canadiens. The injunction was initially granted. It was appealed to a higher court and there the decision was reversed, the judge ruling:

> The breach of a contract to render personal services to another will not be enjoined except when the services are of such a special unique or unusual character that their loss cannot be reasonably compensated for in damages.
>
> So an injunction will not be granted against a hockey player for breach of contract, if he is not a player of such prominence that he could not be replaced by other players equally as expert in hockey as himself.103

It was evident from the ruling that personal services contracts were no longer the method to be employed in attempting to form a club. What was needed was a contract based on an exchange of the player's services for a specified sum of money. The National Hockey Association, borrowing from baseball's experience, introduced such a contract in 1910.*

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*See Appendix for the Contract adopted by the National Hockey Association, 1910-1911.

The contract was described as "iron-bound, steel inset and unbreakable."[104] It was further stated that "all the legal details pertaining to the employment act are enumerated in full after which the league proceeds to tie the player up in knots."[105] It was called the strictest contract which any athlete in Canada had ever been required to sign. Not only was it an attempt to "tie the player up in knots", it was also intended to assure the paying customer of the integrity of the game and its players. To that end, the athlete was not only selling his services as a hockey player, he was also guaranteeing his behavior as a person. Under the terms of the agreement, he was to abstain from all intoxicating liquor during the season and furthermore to "conduct themselves with gentlemanly respectable mannerisms."[106]

It was an abrupt change from the "loose methods employed by the professional clubs in previous years when players were permitted to hold down big salaries and jump from one team to another or one league to another without molestation or interference" from the club or league where he was employed.[107] It was a totally new concept as far as the Canadian athlete was concerned and served to emphasize the seriousness of professional sport. To some it was a bewildering revelation.

> . . . that the gulf separating the "simon pure" from he who returns his athletic

> services for the coin of the realm is a wide one, is freely emphasized in almost every paragraph of the long drawn out document . . . . The player cannot give his services to any other club without written consent of the "party of the first part" who scintillates throughout the agreement: nor can they join any other club even at the expiration of the contract without first securing their release from the club in whose employ they now are.[108]

The latter point referred to the so called reserve clause which was to become a contentious point in its evolved form in the sixties and seventies. Hockey and baseball team owners in the 1970's said that the reserve clause was necessary to guarantee league stability; it would prevent the wealthiest teams from amassing the best talent. The officials of the National Hockey Association were making similar statements in 1910. Whereas these officials were stating that the contract would result in an equitable basis for competition by doing away with "contract jumping" and making the game more popular, the players were not convinced. It was viewed by them as an owners' plot to minimize their earning potential. Even if everything the owners said was true about competition being equalized, there was still nothing to prevent the club from regulating the players' salaries far below what the market value would be without the new contract. To some of them, the contract was "as unpopular with the players as is Jack Johnson in the State of California. 'Why it's worse than a life sentence', said one."[109] To all, however, it appeared that a new era in sport had arrived in Canada. It was apparent that an attempt was being made to remove sport from unsettling influences and place it on a more "business like" basis.

The popularity of Stanley Cup competitions and the gradual acceptance of the contractual basis for hockey was reinforced by the increasing amount of publicity appearing in the newspapers. All served to promote the National Hockey Association. Under its president, Emmett Quinn, the League imposed a salary limit of $5,000 per team for the sixteen game 1911 schedule. Furthermore, six man hockey was introduced in 1911 for two reasons. The game would be opened up more with two fewer men on the ice; it was hoped that this would allow for a more entertaining type of play. Perhaps even more important was the reason that it would be less expensive to ice a team. It was apparent that two distinct, and yet related, attitudes were emerging with respect to professional sport, the organizational aims which of course were related to maximizing profits while providing for a high calibre of play. Owners were interested in the entertainment aspects of the game insofar as it sold tickets; they were continually searching for the right combination of factors which would maintain the interest in the sport, allow the players to demonstrate their unique talents and attract the spectators necessary to operate the team, with a profit. The players, of course, had little to say about the changes in rules. Their chief task was to perform within the framework of the regulations. In effect, they were allowing the owners to frame the rules. They would then perform according to the rules assuming that the spectators would be entertained and enjoy the natural events of the unfolding game. A further change was necessitated by the smaller rosters. Two rest periods were introduced instead of the normal one. Commencing in 1910, a game was to consist of three twenty minute periods with two ten minute rest sessions in between. Previously, a game consisted of two thirty minute periods with one rest session in between.

Perhaps, however, it was because of the Patrick family that the basis for commercial hockey was broadened. Lester and Frank Patrick had been part of the original Renfrew Millionaires and when that team failed to win the Stanley Cup, they returned to Victoria, British Columbia, with the intention of settling into their father's lumber business. Since the weather in the far west was not conducive to a long season of hockey (it was still being played on natural ice in the east) the two brothers, financed by their father, supervised the construction of two artificial ice rinks while forming the Pacific Coast Hockey League. The arenas, in Victoria and Vancouver, were finished in time for the January 5, 1912, opening of the new League. They were the first artificial arenas in Canada. In anticipation of that opening, and because of the alternative it provided, many established players in the NHA chose to move west.

> . . . Frank and Lester informed prospective players the climate on the coast was so pleasant that the players should play for almost nothing, just to enjoy the nice sunshine and ocean breezes. When that lure failed, they offered high salaries. In 1912, Jack McDonald, a good player, earned seven hundred dollars for his season at Quebec. When the Patricks offered him twenty-two hundred dollars to play fourteen games for Vancouver, he joined the westward trek.[110]

With the loss of players from the eastern teams, and higher costs in the west, a settlement was of mutual benefit to the owners. Commencing with the 1914 season, the Stanley Cup was to be competed for by the champions of the two leagues. The arrangements lasted until 1926 when from that year, it was the sole province of the National Hockey League. The development of an organized national competition for the sought after trophy did much to equate the concept of professionalism with high calibre. In turn, it benefitted from the east-west rivalry engendered. In the first meeting between the two champion representatives, billed as an unofficial world's championship but not for the Stanley Cup, the Victoria Aristocrats surprised many by defeating the Quebec Bulldogs in the best of three series. It was in 1915 that the Vancouver entry defeated Ottawa to give the western league its first Stanley Cup.

The first American city to win the Cup also came from the Pacific Coast League, the Seattle Metropolitans winning it in the 1916-1917 season. By virtue of the fact that an American team had won the Stanley Cup, albeit with Canadian players, the precedent was established that it was an international trophy.

The year 1917 was significant in other respects. While conscription was very much alive as an issue and women were receiving the vote in federal elections for the first time, the news that the National Hockey League was formed almost escaped national attention. In effect, it was formed by the withdrawal of the Montreal, Ottawa and Quebec City franchises from the National Hockey Association, the Toronto owner, Ed Livingstone, being left with his own franchise in the old Association with no other teams to play. "Tommy Gorman of the Ottawa Club chortled over the manoeuvre. 'Great day for hockey. Livingstone was always arguing. Without him we can get down to the business of making money'."[111] The new league awarded a franchise to Toronto interests, appointed Frank Calder as its first president and began its inaugural season during Canada's war years.

It is interesting to note that the new developments in the structuring of professional hockey were being followed closely by "old timers". Soon after the introduction of the NHA contract, and the dropping of the seventh man, it was remarked that "the action was similar to that of a big manufacturer in decreasing the working force. The interest which has grown tremendously during the past few years is now to be utilized in making hockey yet another of Canada's commercial enterprises."[112] With that in mind, it was ventured that in the not too distant future, hockey players would "be traded and sold in the same manner that the largest baseball clubs across the border handle their men."[113] The move to six man hockey was an indication of how the owners were benefitting; each team was financially better off since it was now possible to carry an eight man roster instead of the former ten necessary.[114] Not all accepted the link between sport and finance. There was some question as to whether "the chase after the almighty dollar" on the part of the athletes would not result in a lessening in "patriotic enthusiasm" among them.[115] Predictably, no such concern was voiced on behalf of the owners. It was further feared that a similar situation to baseball would develop, the player purposely playing so poorly that he would be released from his contract, thus allowing him to join the team of his choice.

With Toronto due to have a new artificial hockey arena, there was a flurry of hockey activity in that city. Amid the increasing concern that players would be tempted to sell their services to the highest bidder, be he a club owner or a gambler, the NHA felt it necessary to issue the following statement at the commencement of the 1912 season:

"We hereby agree to stand together as a body to perpetuate hockey as the national winter game and to surround it with safeguards that will warrant public confidence in its integrity and that each club will bind itself to stand by the National Hockey Association of Canada."[116]

It was the success enjoyed by the NHA which encouraged other sports to venture, somewhat slowly, but nonetheless surely, into the realm of commercialized sport. The Dominion Lacrosse Union was formed, modeled after the NHA constitution. In soccer, a professional league was underway in British Columbia in 1910, lasting only one year.[117] The following year, a four team league was formed in the east, as was a new governing body, the Dominion Football Association. The creation of this latter body initiated still another area of concern in the professional-amateur area. The DFA wished to affiliate with the international federation as well as the AAU of Canada. The international body wished its members to control amateur and professional sport; the AAU of C wished only amateur affiliation. When the Canadian body turned down the soccer request to "mix" amateurs and professionals, reinstate and govern professionals, the affiliation did not materialize.[118] Perhaps because of the situation in England where professional and amateur soccer players mixed with no apparent ill effects to either, the Dominion Football Association reinstated twenty-five professionals at one meeting after the collapse of the professional league.[119]

With respect to baseball, the American game was popular throughout the whole of Canada. Professional leagues were abundant; the Northwestern League was founded in British Columbia in 1911; the Western Canada Baseball League with teams from Winnipeg, Brandon, Regina, Moose Jaw, Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, Calgary and Edmonton was formed in 1909; Winnipeg was also represented in the Northern League, Montreal and Toronto in the Eastern League. Teams from Ottawa, Peterborough, Brantford, Toronto, London, Guelph, St. Thomas and Hamilton comprised the Canadian Professional Baseball League in 1911.

In Canadian football, new ground was also being broken with respect to professionalism. Frank Shaughnessy was hired by McGill University as a football coach. It was an innovation. Prior to this time, teams had been guided following the British tradition by the captain on the field. The "honorary coach" was simply a nominal leader of the team. Shaughnessy, an American, had successfully coached the Ottawa entry in the Canadian Baseball League. He agreed to accept the McGill coaching position only if he had complete and unquestioned control of the direction of the team. Having been given that assurance, he introduced a new dimension in thoroughness to coaching in Canada. He stipulated that the club executives should sit in the grandstand, instead of their accustomed places on the bench, while he directed play on the field. He introduced a sense of commitment on the part of his players by declaring that no man would play who was not fit or who had not practised with the team. By establishing a training table for his players, he supervised their diet, boarded them in the same house and stressed the seriousness of their endeavor by leaving for "away" games one to two days early. In the sense of dedication and thoroughness, Shaughnessy was advocating a concept of professionalism without money.[120] His success was such that McGill University consistently fielded teams which were among the strongest in Canada.

Yet, with all the seeming approval of commercialized sport in many areas of the country, the association of money with sport and the brand "professional" were by no means accepted by all. One was perhaps likely to hear a sermon on the subject, as was the case at the First Baptist Church in Ottawa. The minister, Reverend A. Cameron, delivered a scathing attack on the mounting brutality and the increasing attraction of sport to youth. He closed with: "let all oppose professionalism and let the arm of the law be brought to restrain them. Let our young men find their recreation in the amateur associations and deem it unmanly to be out for hire as professional sportsmen and let us cease to regard sports as the all in all of young men."[121]

As well, other influences militated against the acceptance of professionalism. Eddie Gerard, an outstanding football player with the Ottawa Rough Riders, was offered a contract -- $3,200 for two years -- to play hockey with the Ottawa team of the NHA. Gerard refused. His reasons were soon made public. During the 1913 season, Gerard moved to a civil service job, leaving his former position with an Ottawa printing company. The new situation was a secure one, paying $1,200 per year. After turning down the hockey offer, he explained that "he had been threatened with the loss of his position in the event of turning professional. Moreover, he had been told by officials that he would never be promoted unless he retained his amateur standing and continued to play football with the Ottawas."[122] Some players were only given parental permission to play in the "trolley league" if it was agreed that they would be picked up immediately prior to the game and driven back home with no delay at the finish so as to protect the youngster from the evils of professionals.[123] Frank Selke wrote of George McNamara who played professional hockey with Waterloo in the trolley league. McNamara, who later became a successful construction company owner, made it a practice to regularly support some fifty of his former team mates or fellow soldiers in order to help them through unfortunate times. Obviously, the commonly held notions about professional athletes grated Selke. He mentioned that he always enjoyed recalling such incidents "whenever someone tells me that professionals in sport have sold their souls to the Great

God Mammon."[124]

The feelings which reflected the depths in which professionalism was held were aptly summed up in 1914 by the secretary of the AAU of C. He expressed the opinion that an athlete became a professional by personal choice; no amount of legislation could bring about a man's return of his amateur status. His views were further amplified:

> . . . you might by solemn declaration declare something black to be white, but it would still be black. Once a man has taken money for sport he must always be a professional. True, you could resolve to regard him or call him an amateur, but that would not make him one, because he had accepted and used money for his services as an athlete, and this would be a form of hypocrisy.[125]

A temporary truce in the battle against professionalism was effected by the Great War of 1914-1918. When on August 4, 1914, Britain declared war on Germany, Canada, as a colony in the British Empire, found itself automatically at war as well. During the conflict, a total of 619,636 Canadians were to see service, two-thirds of them seeing action in the European Campaign. In addition, some 3,000 served directly in the British forces.[126] Some 60,000 Canadians were to lose their life, many among them athletes.

Sporting competitions in various cities declined throughout the country. Arenas were commandeered by the military to be used as staging areas in order to train recruits. Many athletes volunteered for military service thus making high calibre sport most difficult to continue. Perhaps only naturally, a number of Sportsmen's Battalions were formed across the country. Jones[127] lists track and field, soccer, rugby football, basketball, boxing, hockey and wrestling among the sports played by servicemen among themselves as well as with civilians. The number of athletes entering the services was such that ninety per cent of Edmonton's registered players for its fifteen team soccer league enlisted;[128] three hundred of the OHA's players of 1914 saw overseas service.[129] Intercollegiate sport was abandoned. Many hockey clubs simply ceased functioning because of the absence of players. The Alberta branch of the AAU of C suspended all senior athletics until after the war. Their officials did not believe that "citizens of military age should ask the public to support their sport during the war years."[130] Perhaps more significant, for purposes of this discussion, was the announcement made by the AAU of C in 1916 that "no distinctions would be made between amateurs and professionals, and amateurs would not lose their status by competing in mixed events",[131] sponsored by the military.

The edict had far reaching effects. Military sports were successful. Not only did they provide a vehicle for fitness among the recruits, they were also an enjoyable diversion, for the athlete and the public, from the depressing news of war. It was shown that amateurs could compete favorably with professionals, that professionals were not necessarily "dirty", that they were just as capable as amateurs at competing in sport for the love of the game.[132] In addition, many professionals had served their country well, some making the supreme sacrifice. When it was recalled that many men who played professional sport were not necessarily corrupt, nor were they any less admirable or more patriotic than their "amateur" countrymen, a new climate prevailed in post-war athletic circles.

It was this general feeling of indebtedness and patriotism that resulted in many suggestions at the end of the war advocating a form of amnesty for all professional athletes. The matter was raised to the AAU of C in 1919 by Thomas Boyd. He proposed that all professional athletes, who so desired, should be re-instated as amateurs because of their military service.[133] In effect, it was being stated that "a professional could be 'cleansed' by serving his country in the armed forces."[134] It should be stated, however, that Boyd's motion was not entirely altruistic. One of his reasons for the amnesty was that professional athletes of this sort were needed to fill "administrative positions in the rapidly expanding sports."[135]

The war, however, did serve as a watershed of sorts with respect to sports in Canada and the concept of professionalism. Because the Canadian response to the call of arms had been so overwhelming, athletic clubs were particularly affected by the enlistments. With the end of the war in 1918, and the subsequent return of the athletes, there was a certain amount of eagerness and anticipation on the part of the clubs and the public for the resumption of sport. And yet, it was only natural that the war-hardened youths were not likely to desire a return to the conditions of four years previous. During those four years, the soldiers had been forced into an itinerant form of life. They were moved from one locale to another and they were able to cope. It was probable that one section of Canada was just as likely to be appealing as any other.[136]

After such a conflict, the distinctions between amateur and professional along with the real or imagined fear of the latter status, would, in all likelihood, appear as petty and insignificant in view of the athletes' wartime experience on the battle and playing fields. For those who had the good fortune to return, it had been four long years out of their life. Among some of the soldiers there was an attitude that their country owed a debt to them whether in the sense of privileges, compensations or commendations. This being the case, the acceptance of money for playing of sport did not seem to be so corruptive at all.

As well, the old class concept of amateur and professional was beginning to fade into the background of time. Occasionally it emerged. When the Dominion Football Association wished to affiliate with the AAU of C, with the stipulation that they be allowed to govern amateur and professional soccer, and have mixed competition, they were again refused. In order to further discuss the situation, the soccer body invited President Boyd of the amateur union to its national meeting in Calgary. In his report to the AAU of C, Boyd expressed some surprise at his discovery that the soccer body consisted of "as fine a body of men gathered as it could be possible to find anywhere."[137] He reported enthusiastically that the mayors of Calgary and Edmonton were actively involved in the discussions, as were "judges and generals and many professional and business men of Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, Red Deer, Calgary and Edmonton."[138] His surprise was such that it lent credence to the belief that there was still a basis, in the minds of some, that amateurs were from the "upper" classes while professionals were of the "rowdy" element. Typical of this attitude was a report in 1918 which mentioned that some followers of the Toronto Arenas of the National Hockey League were of the opinion that a game between Ottawa and Montreal was "fixed . . . to freeze out the Arenas."[139] The Telegram simply commented that "it was a habit for some people to cry 'fake' and professional sport is invariably the target."[140]

This tendency to identify and equate the professional with dishonesty, a feeling left over from the nineteenth century, was further demonstrated when the Toronto St. Pats, formerly the Arenas and later the Maple Leafs, sought to entice Bill Box of the University of Toronto Dentistry team to join the professionals. The "Dents" were finished their season and Box was in his last year. When he phoned his home his parents refused to give their consent. Two long distance phone calls to Renfrew failed to change his father's decision even though the St. Pat's had offered to pay $1,000 for the remainder of the season.[141] The phrase, "turn pro", which was in vogue at the time had more connotations than simply accepting money.

Meanwhile, in the west another development was taking place. British Columbia was passing legislation in its amateur organizations which would allow professionals to be reinstated as non competing amateurs. The AAU of C was to place instructors in a similar category in 1920. In Alberta and Saskatchewan, those two provinces simply allowed any professional, who wished it, to be reinstated. In all cases, the professionals referred to were ones who had fought for Canada in the last war. The action of the two prairie provinces caused somewhat of a rift in amateur circles; their action served to indicate and reinforce that the "sin" of professionalism could be washed away by a redeeming action, in this case, fighting for your country.

Clearly defined major trends were developing in Canadian sport by 1920. Hockey was by far the most popular. The professional variety, while not totally accepted by all, reinforced the connotation of quality as well as commercialism. Football was becoming extremely accepted, still amateur by definition yet growing to the extent that its "national" finals were closely followed. Clubs were not paying players in an outright fashion; they tended to offer inducements and situations in order to attract personnel. The latter was such that the players who moved from club to club, the "tourists" of earlier years, were being referred to as "rugby grasshoppers whose promises are like pie crust."[142] Lacrosse moved from "a major Canadian sport to a minor localized activity."[143] Many reasons were given for the status of lacrosse: the popularity of baseball, the return of the players after the war who were four years older and perhaps could not be reinstated as amateurs. Some blamed the roughness of professional lacrosse for its demise; others stated that it was the war and the advent of the motor car which put the countryside in the reach of thousands of people who would have previously spent their Saturday afternoons at athletic attractions.[144] Baseball was at its peak in popularity whereas rowing, cycling and track and field returned under the auspices of the AAU of C.

As the second decade of the twentieth century came to a close, it was evident that a major change had taken place in Canada. Although Queen Victoria had died in 1901, her "era" did not automatically come to an end. The residue of the English ties remained to be rekindled during the war. With the conflict and its subsequent heavy demands on Canada came a new awareness which was to eventually manifest itself into a sense of nationhood removed from colonial status. An indication that this was already in process prior to the outbreak of the war was noticeable in the Renfrew *Mercury* report previously cited.

In the description given of the Renfrew players, the notation was made that despite the great amount of "idle" time available to the players, they were found to be worthy of the respect of Renfrew's citizens.[145] Victorian notions, of course, stressed the work ethic. Idleness was to be disdained from a commercial point of view as well as moral. There was definite separation between work and leisure. One worked in order to earn his leisure which in turn existed so that one might be refreshed for work. It was felt that certainly one should not be idle when it was time for work. The fact that the Renfrew *Mercury* inferred that idleness did not necessarily contribute to rowdy or immoral behavior indicates that the "winds of change" were starting to blow.

FOOTNOTES TO PART TWO, II

[1] Henry Roxborough, *Canada At the Olympics*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1963, p. 35.

[2] "President's Address", Minutes of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada, 1911, p. 10.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] W.A. Hewitt, *Down The Stretch*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1958, p. 186.

[5] *House of Commons Debates*, August 19, 1914, p. 10.

[6] Manitoba *Free Press*, September 23, 1922.

[7] F. Hewitt, *op. cit*., p. 40.

[8] Ottawa *Citizen*, January 24, 1902.

[9] *Ibid*.

[10] Foster Hewitt, *op. cit*., p. 42.

[11] Toronto *Star*, March 11, 1903.

[12] *Ibid*., September 21, 1903.

[13] Toronto *Star*, April 5, 1904.

[14] *Ibid*., June 24, 1904.

[15] Toronto *Star*, August 30, 1904.

[16] *Ibid*., April 22, 1905.

[17] Toronto *Globe*, June 27, 1905.

[18] Toronto *Star*, June 27, 1905.

[19] *Ibid*., July 5, 1905.

[20] Toronto *Star*, July 5, 1905.

[21] Carleton McNaught, "Birth and Development of Canada's National Game", *Lacrosse Records and Rules of Box Lacrosse*. E.J. Dopp, ed., CLA 1950, p. 23, cited in Jones, p. 146.

[22] Toronto Star, November 20, 1906.

[23] Toronto Star, August 7, 1906.

[24] *Ibid.*, September 26, 1906.

[25] *Ibid.*, October 30, 1906.

[26] Toronto Star, November 13, 1906.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] Toronto Globe, February 1, 1907.

[31] Manitoba Free Press, February 22, 1907.

[32] Tom Bedecki, "An Examination of The Amateur Code in Canada". Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate, Ottawa, 1968, p. 5.

[33] W.A. Hewitt, Down The Stretch, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[34] For a full discussion of the definition, see Lansley, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[35] Constitution of the AAU of C, cited in Lansley, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[36] By Laws of the AAU of C, cited in Lansley, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Lansley, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[39] Toronto Star, July 4, 1903 "Oshawa Signs Indian".

[40] Toronto Star, June 3, 1905.

[41] Toronto Globe, October 1 and 4, 1912, cited in Frank Cosentino, *Canadian Football: The Grey Cup Years*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company, 1969, p. 37.

[42] Toronto Globe, April 7, 1913.

[43] Longboat preferred to be known as "Cyclone Jack".

[44] Toronto Star, April 19, 1907.

[45] Ibid., April 24, 1907.

[46] Toronto Globe, April 27, 1907.

[47] Toronto Globe, February 4, July 13, 1907.

[48] W.A. Hewitt, Down The Stretch, op. cit., p. 90.

[49] Toronto Star, November 11, 1907.

[50] Toronto Globe, June 9, 1908.

[51] Toronto Telegram, July 25, 1908.

[52] J. Howard Crocker, "Report of the First Canadian Olympic Athletic Team", 1908, p. 4.

[53] Toronto Star, October 19, 1908.

[54] W.A. Hewitt, op. cit., p. 88.

[55] Toronto Star, November 2, 1908.

[56] W.A. Hewitt, op. cit., p. 89.

[57] Toronto Telegram, January 5, 1909.

[58] Arthur M. Lower, Canadians In The Making. Toronto: Longman's Green & Co., 1958, p. 382.

[59] Ibid., p. 372.

[60] Ibid., p. 375.

[61] Toronto Telegram, April 14, 1907.

[62] Ibid., April 15, 1909.

[63] Edmonton Bulletin, July 2, 1920.

[64] Toronto Globe and Mail, January 12, 1949.

[65] Toronto Telegram, November 21, 1908.

[66] Ibid., March 5, 1909.

[67] Ibid., May 10, 1909.

[68] Ottawa Citizen, December 10, 1910.

[69] Toronto *Star*, December 2, 1903.

[70] Toronto *Star*, January 4, 1904.

[71] Toronto *Star*, February 3, 1904.

[72] *Ibid*.

[73] *Ibid*.

[74] *Ibid*., November 24, 1904.

[75] Toronto *Star*, December 26, 1905.

[76] Foster Hewitt, *op. cit*., p. 34.

[77] H.H. Roxborough, The Stanley Cup Story. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1971, p. 27.

[78] *Ibid*., p. 31.

[79] *Ibid*.

[80] Toronto *Star*, May 9, 1905.

[81] Foster Hewitt, *op. cit*., p. 34.

[82] H.H. Roxborough, *op. cit*., p. 46.

[83] Roxborough, *op. cit*., p. 48.

[84] *Ibid*., p. 49.

[85] Toronto *Star*, February 28, 1906.

[86] *Ibid*., March 23, 1906.

[87] *Ibid*., November 13, 1906.

[88] Toronto *Star*, November 22, 1908.

[89] *Ibid*.

[90] *Ibid*., November 23, 1908.

[91] Frank Selke, *Behind The Cheering*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1962, p. 28.

[92] Toronto Globe, December 16, 1908.

[93] Edmonton *Bulletin*, December 1, 1908.

[94] Toronto *Telegram*, January 9, 1909.

[95] *Ibid*.

[96] *Ibid*.

[97] Scott and Astrid Young, *O'Brien*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967, p. 61.

[98] *Ibid*.

[99] *Ibid*., p. 62.

[100] *Ibid*., p. 65.

[101] Ottawa *Citizen*, cited in *Ibid*.

[102] Renfrew *Mercury*, cited in Young, *op. cit*., p. 73.

[103] Quebec Provincial Records, p. 336.

[104] Ottawa *Citizen*, December 29, 1910.

[105] *Ibid*.

[106] *Ibid*.

[107] *Ibid*.

[108] *Ibid*.

[109] *Ibid*.

[110] H.H. Roxborough, *The Stanley Cup Story*, *op. cit*., p. 54.

[111] Brian McFarlane, *The Lively World of Hockey*. Toronto: New American Library of Canada, 1968, p. 27.

[112] Toronto *Star*, October 21, 1911.

[113] *Ibid*.

[114] *Ibid*.

[115] *Ibid*.

[116] Toronto *Star*, October 2, 1912.

[117] Kevin Jones, "Sport In Canada, 1900 to 1920", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of Alberta, 1970, p. 113.

[118] Ibid., p. 114.

[119] Toronto Globe, October 16, 1914.

[120] F. Cosentino, Canadian Football: The Grey Cup Years. Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1969, p. 37.

[121] Toronto Telegram, November 16, 1909.

[122] Calgary Daily Herald, December 18, 1913.

[123] Interview with Frank Selke Sr., May, 1972.

[124] Frank Selke, Behind The Cheering. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962, p. 30.

[125] Minutes of the AAU of C, 1914, p. 5.

[126] G. de Glazebrook, "Emergence of Canada as a Power in International Affairs", Canada One Hundred 1867-1967. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967, p. 444.

[127] Jones, op. cit., p. 506.

[128] Edmonton Bulletin, July 31, 1915.

[129] Toronto Globe, September 14, 1915.

[130] Jones, op. cit., p. 511.

[131] Toronto Globe, May 26, 1916.

[132] K. Lansley, op. cit., p. 141.

[133] Lansley, op. cit., p. 151.

[134] Ibid., p. 152.

[135] Ibid., p. 151.

[136] Ibid., p. 154.

[137] Minutes of the AAU of C, 1920, p. 9.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Toronto Telegram, December 26, 1918.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Toronto Telegram, February 23, 1920.

[142] Toronto Star, September 18, 1920.

[143] Jones, op. cit., p. 161.

[144] Selke, op. cit., p. 58.

[145] Supra, p. 238.

III

THE YEARS OF TRANSITION, 1921-1932

> The Great War of 1914 had blown off the roof of nineteenth century civilization. The walls and foundations still stood, cracked but erect and the inhabitants of the western world lived on bravely in them until they too tumbled down in 1931, and men moved numbly into the spiritual tents and mental huts in which they have lived ever since. The great myths of the nineteenth century still glowed with life; order in freedom; stability in progress; truth despite contradiction; hope against despair . . . . The decade is defined in event by war and depression . . . it was a decade of transition from a century in which chaos was steadily reduced to order to one in which order was to be increasingly disintegrated.[1]

The era of pre-1914 Canada was all but forgotten by 1920. Indeed, after 1920, the mood and aspirations of the country were different. It was almost impossible to predict the coming of a depression. A false sense of security set in. Prices were high, riding the crest of a business cycle set into motion by a war-time economy. Deflation was inevitable, yet it came in such an unexpected way as to cause untold hardship. First hit were the farmers; the cessation in 1920 of the Wheat Board guarantee of prices led them to organize political parties. A new force, the Progressive Party, made itself felt in Parliament, sixty-five of its members being elected to serve alongside traditional Liberals and Conservatives in the 1921 election.

While Canada asserted its newly emerging nationalism in refusing to support Britain in the Chanak crisis of 1922 and signed the Halibut Treaty, in 1923, with the United States, it was evident that the "formal diplomatic unity of the Empire"[2] was ending. Internal changes were also developing; Westerners, in addition to their new political party, were developing the concept of "pooling" their wheat. As a result, many of their economic problems seemed to be solved. A feeling of prosperity returned.

It was also evident that the outlook of Canadians was changing in other areas: "A new scientific, urban and industrial culture was changing the mentality and morals of Canadians."[3] Church union between Methodists and Presbyterians and the Congregationalist churches, while a great event, served to leave a new church "increased in numbers and wealth but uncertain of its doctrine and weaker in spirit and influence than before." Where once before moral persuasion was sufficient an attempt was made, in the case of prohibition for example, "to enforce a moral code by legal means."[4]

It was as if the population had discovered all of a sudden that many innovations had been made during the two previous decades. Unnoticed by many during the years circumscribing the war, they seemed to materialize as an accomplished fact. The telephone, telegraph, teletype, type-setting machines, better photographs, all contributed to an increase of information. With the introduction of the wire services, uniform news stories were made available across the country. The radio, which was used as early as 1901 when Lord Minto spoke across the Atlantic Ocean to Edward VII, was assisted in its development by the war to the point where provisions were made for the licencing of commercial stations in 1922.[5]

While long distance voice communications were improving, so too were those which lessened distances in a physical way. The automobile and the resultant increase in highway traffic "was a cause for the blacksmith's shop to be replaced by or converted to the service station."[6] The airplane assisted in the development of national communications, so much so that "when the Trans-Canada Highway was begun in the 1920's and opened on September 23, 1962, a great chain of national and regional airlines had already blazed the trails across the land and north into the mineral storehouse."[7]

With the growth of the towns, the rural ethic was being replaced by urban mores and values. A concept of social welfare was developing, the passage of the Old Age Pension Act of 1927 being an "affirmation in personal affairs of the same principal the provinces had been asserting in industry, that human life could not, in all cases, be regulated by private contract and have all its needs met by personal effort alone."[8] With the rapid developments in all phases of life, it was perhaps only natural that there was at once a nostalgia for the past as well as a developing conviction and belief in progress.

> What then was the central vortex of Canadian life in the decade of 1920-1930? It was the opposing drives of what may be termed the nostalgic and propulsive elements in Canadian society. Canadians looking backward with sentiment, were being driven forward with desire.[9]

This seeming paradox was illustrated early in the period in the field of sport. Football had for many years been experimenting with different sets of rules and innovations. Invariably, the traditionalist element had won out and rule changes were minimal except in isolated circumstances. However, late in 1920, it was agreed in the west that the rules in vogue in Alberta would be implemented for the 1921 season throughout the western provinces. At the January 15, 1921, meeting of the Canadian Rugby Union, it was announced that a revised constitution would be prepared and a committee delegated to revise the playing rules. The composition of the new rules committee was significant: staunch traditionalists such as Harry Griffiths and W.A. Hewitt, were by-passed in favor of three young men, all of whom had been active as players in recent years. When the report was made, the rules were revised in such a way as to implement the snap-back system by doing away with the traditional heeling out method. In the process, the two scrim supports became superfluous; football thus became a game played by twelve men instead of the former fourteen. The rules were in keeping with those advocated in the west; the way was paved for another east-west competition, the Grey Cup game becoming a national happening in 1921.

Further evidence of the conflict between the traditionalists and the progressives was evident at the AAU of C meeting of 1921. The president of that organization, Dr. Bruce Macdonald, was stating that the "principle of amateurism must always be preserved intact unless we desire to steer our ship among the shoals and onto the reefs of ultimate disaster."[10] The western delegate, Judge Jackson, proposed, at the same meeting that "an amateur athlete shall not lose his amateur status by competing with or against a professional in cricket, golf, indoor bowling, hockey, football, baseball and lacrosse."[11] His motion was defeated but only after a long and emotional discussion.

When Jackson became the amateur union's president in 1922, he made reference in his address to the annual meeting to the status of amateur sport, describing it as clean (which tends to infer that professional sport is dirty). He also espoused the theory of "once a professional always a professional."[12] The statements were significant not only from the point of view of who was mouthing them but also from the perspective that each of these notions had been undermined during the Great War. Jackson's report signalled "a return to some of the original concepts of amateurism and also served as a warning of the battle between the "traditionalists" and the "radicals" of amateur sport that was to take place in the years to come."[13]

Much of the "ammunition" for the radicals was provided by the success of commercialized hockey and the consolidation of the National Hockey League. The decade following the world conflict was highlighted by an expansion of professional hockey into the western cities of Edmonton, Calgary, Regina and Saskatoon. Titled the Western Canada Hockey League, it amalgamated with the older Pacific Coast Hockey Association until the subsequent demise of the new league after the 1925-26 season. For a short period, the professional hockey arrangement was popular in the west, thus explaining the many attempts by western delegates to amateur bodies to allow for "mixed" competition. In those western communities where the population was relatively smaller than some of the eastern cities, many of the athletes who played hockey were the ones who played football or lacrosse or other sports. Thus if the athlete were professionalized in one sport, he was lost to the others. It was evident that the professional sports had such an attraction in the west that the total sport program was suffering. With the Amateur Union being predominantly governed from the east, it appeared as one more example of eastern domination when it attempted to adhere to the traditional concept of the amateur code, that is, that money and sport could not mix.

But there was another reason for the demise of professional hockey in the west. The decision appears to have been made after the 1924 season that expansion should take place into the United States rather than Canada. In 1924, a second Montreal team, this one representing the English speaking citizens, the Montreal Maroons, came into existence along with the first American entry into the NHL, the Boston Bruins. The expansion continued the following year when the Hamilton franchise was shifted to New York, to be known as the Americans. In the same year, the Pittsburgh Pirates were enfranchised. Teams from New York (the Rangers), Chicago (the Black Hawks) and Detroit (the Cougars) were added in 1926, their rosters stocked with personnel from the defunct Western League. With the expansion in the number of teams, the NHL was split into two divisions. The Canadian division consisted of Toronto St. Patricks, Ottawa Senators, New York Americans, Montreal Canadiens and the Montreal Maroons while the American division included the Boston Bruins, the New York Rangers, Pittsburgh Pirates, Chicago Black Hawks and the Detroit Cougars.

The ten team league was to continue in popularity until well into the depression and the start of the second war at which time it was to be delimited by natural attrition to a compact six team unit.

A number of factors contributed to the immense popularity and growth of the game of hockey. Certainly the availability of new artificial ice arenas and the new and exciting medium of radio acted as influences on each other so as to promote the game, increase the schedules, owners' profits and therefore, players' shares. As long as hockey was dependent upon the unpredictable winter climate, the scheduling of games with any regularity was almost impossible. With the first artificial ice arenas appearing in Canada in Victoria and Vancouver in 1911, the promotors had some control over the length of the season, and, therefore, the number of games which could be played. From an entrepreneur's point of view, it was difficult to offer a player a contract for the season when conceivably the ice could be melted for the majority of the games. In arenas throughout the country, with the exception of the British Columbia artificial ones, there were occasions when miniature ponds would appear on the ice surface as a result of a thaw. Players and spectators alike risked being splashed in the ensuing play.

> . . . These surfaces, while not desirable, were considered so inevitable by writers and fans that they became subjects of good natured humour rather than contempt.
>
> During one game in Renfrew, the water was so deep that a puck really had to be fished for. Another time, the puck got lost and was so completely immersed that its location was revealed only by the ripples. A writer observed: 'Hall, of Shamrocks, went to drydock for repairs.' He con-

> cluded his story with the report: 'Thanks to the good work of the lifesavers, all players were saved from drowning'.[14]

Newspaper sporting pages were likely to carry cartoons depicting hockey players fishing with their sticks or swimming in the arena. It was all in good fun, since there was no alternative at the time. However, it served to illustrate that conditions were "not ideally suited for playing games billed for the 'Championship of the World'."[15]

Naturally arena owners and entrepreneurs would endeavor to solicit advance sales but even so, when the most important games of the year were played, usually in March, people were unlikely to buy all available seats until it was certain as to the weather. Toronto followed with its artificial ice arena in 1912, Ottawa in 1923 and Montreal with the Forum in 1924. Maple Leaf Gardens was not constructed until 1931, and even as the depression was in progress, a capacity attendance of 13,542 attended the official opening. One of the effects of the artificial ice arenas was that spectators could dress normally. They were also assured of the playing of the game and more important as far as the entrepreneurs were concerned, the season could be extended. From a twenty four game schedule in 1920, the NHL had moved to a forty-eight game season for the 1931-32 season. A longer season meant higher costs; it also meant the possibility of increased revenues. For the players it meant the likelihood of better salaries but also it demanded more time of them. It is an over-simplification, of course, to state that the popularity of hockey at this time was solely due to the advent of artificial ice. There were other factors which contributed to the lengthening schedule, among them improved transportation, availability of players and improved communication.

With respect to the latter, a significant event took place on February 8, 1923. On that evening, little remembered Norman Albert broadcast the first hockey game in Canada. It was the last twenty minutes of an intermediate OHA playoff game over radio station CFCA in Toronto.[16] It appeared to be one more attempt at bringing a sense of dramatization to the non-viewing public. Previously, the telegraph had provided details and information about boat races and football games so as to allow the interested parties to participate more fully in the event. As well, W.A. Hewitt and Tommy Ryan operated an arrangement which reported details of the world series games at the turn of the century to patrons at Shea's Theatre, Star Theatre and the Massey Music Hall:[17]

> The arrangement was that a telegrapher right at the ball game wired his play by play accounts to us, and they were received on a ticker in the Toronto theatre. An announcer dramatized the action. He gave the batter's name and whether the pitch was a ball or a strike. On the board, the lights showed the runner on the base paths. Other lights indicated where a ball was hit and whether a hitter was safe or out. The

> combination of board, lights and announcer was so effective that capacity crowds rooted with all the volume and enthusiasm of fans at the actual game.

A similar version of this technique was used in Ottawa in 1909. On November 27 an estimated ten thousand stood outside the offices of the Citizen and Journal. Ottawa was defeated by the University of Toronto, 31 - 7, and the ten thousand watched dummy figures playing the game on a wire gridiron while listening to the telegraphed version.

Hewitt's system was eventually sold to the Toronto Star which used it to attract huge crowds in front of the building during sporting events. Perhaps coincidentally, the same Hewitt became the sports editor of the Star and the owner of the CFCA radio station. The reaction to Albert's historic first radio broadcast was instant and commending. The reviewer wrote, in somewhat of an awed fashion:

> CFCA reported the last period of the North Torontos - Midland game by a system never before used in Canada. The announcer who described for thousands of listeners, the details of the play was right by the side of the rink and as he spoke his voice was shot into space. The vivid description of Norman Albert gave listeners the chance to mentally see the fast action.[18]

Three subsequent games were broadcast by Albert in February of 1923, each one meeting with similar success. In the west, in March of 1923, the radio was used by Peter Parker to broadcast a game between the Edmonton Eskimos and the Regina Caps. The broadcast, on March 14, 1923, was greeted as enthusiastically there as it had been in the east.

As fate would have it, however, neither of these two gentlemen made the impact created by Foster Hewitt as a result of his first broadcast of March 22, 1923. Hewitt, then the nineteen year old son of the Star sports editor, was given the assignment of broadcasting a game from the Mutual Street Arena where Parkdale and Kitchener were playing. The radio equipment and apparatus were hastily arranged. An airtight cubicle was constructed so as to shut out crowd noises. Hewitt, "on that occasion, haunched on a small stool with sawed-off legs in an all glass box measuring three feet by four feet high."[19]

Because of the cold air of the arena and the warm air inside the cubicle, fog covered the windows. Hewitt, sweating profusely, described the action of the game which lasted an additional thirty minutes beyond the regulation time. The whole operation was a nerve-wracking experience.

> Radio equipment at that distant time was rather crude. The procedure was that ten minutes before broadcasting, I took the receiver off the hook of a wall type telephone, spoke to the operator, got the radio engineer and checked our watches, then left the receiver to hang on its long wire so that the line wouldn't close.
>
> Even then, there were frequent interruptions. Occasionally, operators cut into my talk to ask what number I wanted. Sometimes the

> social chats of others were channeled to my line. But the worst horror of all was that although I was talking my head off, I was never sure that the broadcast was reaching the listeners.[20]

People were listening; enthusiastically so. The hockey broadcasts were suited to the Canadian climate and soon many households were to plan their evenings around the crystal set listening to the play-by-play. In addition to the general promotion of hockey, it served to give an experimental type of participation. It also served to familiarize the listening audience with the "big-leaguers". The promotional aspects of the game were unlimited. The listening audience was dependent upon the announcer. His rising voice and excited descriptions were to act as a means of preparing the public for the eagerly anticipated upcoming contests. In the first year of Boston's entry into the National League, radio did its part in promoting games from that area back to Canada. Hitherto unreachable distances now seemed attainable. After one game between the Bruins and the Canadiens and beamed back to Canada, it was reported:

> Big time hockey has evidently caught on well in Boston. President Charles F. Adams, of the Boston Club, let the world know by radio last night that his arena was packed to capacity by thousands of people who went into raptures over the great Canadian winter sport. The game play-by-play was broadcast from Boston and Ottawa fans were greatly interested in the report. Many called up the sports

> department of the Citizen expressing great pleasure in receiving the tidings which they all said came through as clear as crystal.[21]

Professional hockey was establishing itself with the emergence of the National Hockey League and the expansion into the American cities. Even so there was still the opportunity for traditional feelings towards professional athletes to manifest themselves. After upset victories by the Maroons over the Hamilton entry and by Ottawa over the Canadiens, it was remarked that "the upset season has started in the pro hockey league. (Last night's contests) should make the race closer. Incidentally, it wouldn't hurt the gate receipts. Of course it's only a coincidence that both teams should lose on the same night. For information purposes, the length of the NHL schedule is thirty games."[22] The statement serves to illustrate the dilemma of professional sport; the traditionalist believed that money should not be introduced into an activity he considered to be essentially a pastime and a diversion. If money were introduced, the sport would lose its character, become a business and as such, its prime concern would be the amount of profit to be gained. As a result of these predominant impressions, many of the sports entrepreneurs and players sought to illustrate that the love of the activity was their primary concern; the money was only of secondary consideration.

The case of Newsy Lalonde serves a good example.

One of the greatest hockey and lacrosse players this country has produced, Lalonde echoed this stance early in 1922. His play had fallen off from the high standard expected of him. Stung by the criticism of the Montreal Canadien owner, Leo Dandurand, he submitted his resignation to the team stating:

> . . . it is not the money that I earn in hockey that is the principle reason I have got into it again this year but for the love I bear for the game. I have always played my very best to win, my very best to keep the hockey reputation of the French Canadians near to the top of the heap and my very best to place my club in an honoured and envied position. In all the years that I have been playing, this is the first time that I have been told that I have not been doing my best. If my hockey has not been up to the standards some people expect it to be, it is not because I have not been trying. Do not forget that there are times when a man, no matter how brilliant, does not play as well as at other times and do not forget there are other times when luck is absolutely against him.[23]

Similar feelings were often expressed by individual club owners as well as league presidents. Whenever it was possible for the league owners to be characterized as sportsmen first and business men secondly, it was done. During the 1924-25 season, the Hamilton entry in the NHL ended the season in first place. They immediately demanded an extra one hundred dollars for each play-off game that they were to play.[24] In an attempt to solicit support, the players contacted their Montreal and Toronto counterparts. The move failed. President Frank Calder of the National

Hockey League issued a statement in which he suspended the Hamilton players and declared Montreal, the victors over Toronto, the NHL champions. So as to underscore the notion that the move was taken for the betterment of hockey, a statement was issued:

> . . . I would like to point out that the league will lose close to $8,000 from Hamilton's action. This money would have been taken in at the two games between the Canadiens and Hamilton. By the payment of $2,000 to Hamilton, the amount asked by the players, we would have carried on the series and taken in $8,000. It can thus be seen that we are paying duty from a money end from our action but we are willing to take it and make an example of the Hamilton players and a warning for all future time.[25]

Montreal eventually went on to play and lose to Victoria in the Stanley Cup finals played in Vancouver. The Hamilton franchise was shifted to New York where it became known as the Americans in the 1925 season. Perhaps an indication of the accelerated post-war growth of hockey can be gleaned from the information that the Hamilton franchise, which cost $7,500 in 1920, sold for $75,000 in 1925.[26]

If it were important to ensure to the public that players and owners were interested in the game first and money secondarily, the same need was true with respect to the game officials. With that in mind, the NHL Board of Governors decided "that any owner, manager, player or club attache who criticizes a referee publicly will be subject to a penalty of five hundred dollars or more."[27] Also, it was evident that the American influence was making itself felt in hockey. Since the Western Canada Hockey League ceased operating, its players were the source of a spirited bidding war between old and new National Hockey League clubs. A total of ten clubs, six of them American, started the 1926-27 season and played before 1,119,961 spectators.[28] Newspapers had always taken it upon themselves to report items that they had considered to be indicative of their readers' interest. It was evident that the NHL was beginning to provide an abundance of statistics, most of which would be reprinted verbatim in the newspaper pages. In effect, a climate for the acceptance of the sport was being created for the public.

Perhaps as much as any team, it was the Toronto Maple Leafs, under the ownership and guidance of Conn Smythe, which initiated the publicity barrage. Smythe had purchased the Toronto St. Pat's franchise and renamed it the Maple Leafs in 1927. Prior to that time, the League opened for play in late November and players reported to their respective clubs a day or two prior to the opening game. After one or two practices together, the season would commence, the players attempting to play their way into condition. Naturally, play during the month of December left much to be desired and as a result, "amateur" hockey was just as popular as the "professional" variety.

Smythe changed that and in the process laid the groundwork for the realization that some sort of commitment from the players was in order. Since "he could not emulate baseball by setting up an elaborate training camp",[29] he asked his players to report two weeks prior to the league's first game. A Canadian Army physical training instructor was hired to conduct a daily regimen of exercises, calisthenics in the morning and golf, softball or baseball in the afternoon. Accommodations were provided in a hotel complete with a training table. Smythe then lured Clarence "Hap" Day from his pharmacy course at the University of Toronto to play defence and captain the new look Toronto team. Day "was a non-smoker, non-drinker, never took tea or coffee or chocolates, and every day in the year he was fit to play sixty minutes of hockey."[30]

> The physical rewards of early season training were great; but of greater importance was the fact that our team practically eliminated Senior and Junior hockey gossip from the sports pages. Everybody suddenly became Leaf conscious. Other teams, quick to realize the advantages of this pre-season publicity, soon followed suit.[31]

With the increased publicity which professional hockey was being accorded, it soon became noticeable that commercialized sport had a dual responsibility during the twenties. On the one hand, it was to "provide clean play for those who patronize them" and on the other "to protect the financial interests of the circuit."[32] The former charge as it applied to integrity as well as sportsmanlike play, had always been present; the latter was more recent. Perhaps because of this, the long history of Stanley Cup series and play-offs had always been a part of hockey. It had proven itself as a sure-fire way to sustain any waning interest. Prior to the 1920-21 season, the league schedule of twenty-four games was divided into two halves. The first place team from each half met to determine the NHL champion. It was during the 1919-20 season that Ottawa finished in first place during each half, thus obviating any need for a play-off and therefore any additional revenue from what normally would have been a series of capacity crowds.

Because there were two different half leaders in 1920-21, a play-off took place but the memory of the previous year's experience made the situation seem too uncertain. For the 1921-22 season, the split schedule was abandoned and a play-off was instituted between the first and second place team. By 1924-25, with the addition of the Boston Bruins and the Montreal Maroons, a new play-off arrangement was effected. The first place team was given a bye while the second and third played each other to meet the league champions. With the expansion of the league to ten teams in 1926-27, two divisions of five teams were structured with six of the ten teams entering into the play-offs.

Hockey was, by now, immensely popular as evidenced by the $160,000 paid for the Toronto franchise by Conny Smythe. "During the winter of 1926-27 every American city that boasted a rink, a hockey puck and a couple of goal nets was clamouring for admission into the National Hockey League."[33] The situation caused the Peterborough Examiner to ask whether professional hockey was a business or a sport.[34] It appeared that the play-off structure was simply geared to producing more revenue. When both the Montreal Canadiens and the Boston Bruins were eliminated from their respective divisions after having finished first, the Examiner asked:

> If it is a business proposition and nothing else, how long can it hope to enjoy the patronage of a sport-loving public? There does not seem to be any good reason why the public, whose support makes the game possible, should continue to dig down into their pockets and back a system that has such ridiculous results as this elimination of the schedule winners.[35]

Many followers could not understand the purpose of the play-off games. The natural culmination of the season should have been a championship series between the NHL's two division winners. In supporting this notion, the Toronto Globe's Mike Rodden made the interesting comment that "financially, this wouldn't be so good but the commercialism in sport, even if professional, should be frowned upon . . . . Hockey is a thrilling sport, one of the most alluring in the world and it should be able to sell itself to the public without the necessity of introducing money-grabbing schemes."[36] The comment is significant because Rodden appeared to be making a distinction between the playing of a sport as a profession as opposed to the merchandising of a sport as a commercial venture. In his mind there was no longer the automatic equation that playing a sport for money ensured its classification as professional. Rodden, in addition to being a sports writer with the Globe, has since been inducted in the Football and Hockey Hall of Fame. He was a successful coach of the Hamilton Tigers in the Inter-Provincial Union as well as a referee in the NHL. As might be expected, he was not opposed to the introduction of money into sport. In a subsequent article, he showed the insight of an athlete facing the amateur-professional dilemma and its artificial barriers. After stating that he had no quarrels with the player who played the game for the game's sake or for those who openly played as professionals, he remarked:

> Sports like hockey and baseball could not progress unless there is financial gain and there comes a time when every amateur must devote his time to business and turn reluctantly away from the sport he loves so well. But those who have attained a high degree of effectiveness have had the way opened for them to continue and by so doing make an honest living. Without professionalism there would be no Babe Ruth or Ty Cobb and in hockey, such stars as Eddie Shore, King Clancy and others would have been forced to abandon sport in order to protect their own interests. At heart they may still be amateurs

> but necessity knows no master and people must be entertained. Therefore those men who play for pay must have their innings. They are fine citizens and thousands of fans in Canada and the United States have let them know that they are appreciated and again we say there need be no quarrel with athletes who have the courage of their convictions.[37]

Rodden had arrived at the conclusion that professionalism was really a function of time. In order to have the time available to develop a particular talent, it was necessary to introduce money. At a point in history when money was becoming less and less easy to obtain and the original reasons behind the concept of amateurism obscured by the passage of time, there was less evidence that any stigma was attached to the player who competed for money. Rodden continued:

> Professionals often look back to their amateur days and regret that they cannot compete in all branches of sport. Just to get out there on the fields of green, the playgrounds for so many sports, to hear again the roars of the fans, to chase the football, or pound out a homer, free to mingle with whomever they would with no bars against them. This is the reason why so many star athletes hesitate to turn away forever so that they may achieve greatness and financial reward in one branch or another. Eddie Gerard of Ottawa, one of the immortals of hockey, once said: "I think I would be tempted to give back all the money I have earned just to get out there with the Ottawa football team." Other men have refused to take the leap into the monied ranks not because they were opposed to professionalism but because they could not turn from sports in general.[38]

It was this latter consequence that was most instrumental in maintaining a distinction between those who played and were paid and those who were not. In a sense, the struggle of the early twenties and thirties between the groups representing these two factions was similar to the larger one encompassing American and British influences. Amateurism was of the old world while "professionalism" represented more clearly the American way. British influences were receding slowly into the background at this time while the influences from Canada's southern neighbour were poised to fill in the void. It was not so much a question of the American influences moving aggressively; it was more akin to an open invitation. For the most part, the two nations spoke the same language, shared the same ethnic background, inhabited the same continent as neighbours sharing a common border stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. During the Great War, they had fought side by side against a common enemy. Some were already calling the United States the most powerful nation in the world. It was perhaps only natural that Canada was gravitating towards her neighbour.

And yet, it was evident that the new alliance would provoke serious doubts in some segments of the country. When the Saskatchewan branch of the Amateur Athletic Union submitted a motion that a professional in one sport could be classified as an amateur in another,[39] the question of professionalism and its effects was again current. Following some debate, a committee was struck to prepare a report and recommendation to the parent body. The committee, headed by Dr. A.S. Lamb, summarized the conditions prevalent in Canadian sport (a situation of increasing professionalism)[40] and rejected the motion, stating that the AAU of C should place a renewed emphasis upon its aims and objectives. Those objectives stated in part that

> through the medium of competitive athletics, it seeks to promote health, character and citizenship . . . so that the highest ideals and traditions of British sportsmanship and fair play be maintained and developed.[41]

In the discussion that followed the report, a number of points were raised. One delegate asked why a hockey player who played as a professional should be deprived of playing a sport such as handball during his off-season. Another suggested that the AAU of C was applying a "magnificent coat of whitewash",[42] while disregarding what was actually happening in Canadian sport. It was wondered aloud as to why the sport of soccer was not added to the list of sports in which amateurs were permitted to play with and against professionals.[43]

The president of the Canadian Olympic Committee, P.J. Mulqueen, stated that the professional athlete participated in sports during the off-season not as play but in order to "keep him in condition for his main purpose in life, the amount of money he can earn playing hockey."[44] Further, he said, a group of these athletes would probably prove to be a championship baseball club and beat every amateur team that they played. The result would be that the public would discontinue supporting amateur players. As far as Mulqueen was concerned, money was the distinguishing feature of professionalism. The money contributed to excellence by allowing the player time to practise his sport. Mulqueen's view of transfer of talent from one sport to another was generally held during this period.

It was after a pause in the discussion that the committee was asked what it meant by the term "British principle and procedure". During the whole debate, many of the delegates had referred to the "British principles of amateurism", inferring that it was the cornerstone of their policy. It was mentioned that in soccer, a British sport, amateurs were allowed to compete with professionals. In the face of many such contradictions, the term was not defined; the proposal calling for the intermingling of amateur and professionals was defeated eighty-seven votes to fifty-eight.[45] Soccer continued to be a topic of conversation. The Dominion Football Association wished to affiliate with the AAU of C as well as the International Football Association, the parent body having its headquarters in England. The DFA wished to mix amateurs and professionals and be able to reinstate and govern the latter.[46] Upon denial of their request, the affiliation with the Canadian amateur body did not take place. As a result, the DFA became a governing body for soccer in Canada, autonomous of the AAU of C while controlling the majority of the provincial organizations and reinstating professionals. As well, the game was very popular, the Connaught Cup game of 1915 between the Winnipeg Scottish and Toronto Lancashires attracting five thousand spectators at Toronto. With the Great War, soccer receded into the background. After the conflict, it again attempted to affiliate with the AAU of C but, again, because of the DFA's insistence on its three points, affiliation was refused. As a result, soccer continued to develop its concepts of professionalism independent of the amateur governing body's strictures.

It is interesting to note that the 1923 meeting of the AAU of C decided that "professional footballers who had secured their release from British teams would be granted amateur standing in Canada."[47] Shortly after, in an effort to arrive at some accommodation with the DFA, the AAU of C ruled that professionals would be allowed to take part in amateur soccer games.[48] Other sports governing bodies were upset at the preferential treatment accorded soccer. The AAU of C replied that while the general belief was that of "once a professional, always a professional", it was felt that "some unusual step had to be taken in order to get soccer in line with other Canadian sports."[49] Furthermore, it was explained, under the existing situation, no Canadian youth were allowed to play since they would endanger their amateur status. Since "the teams were not willing to get rid of the services of those professionals . . . it was decided to tolerate them while Canadian amateurs are learning the game."[50] With the announcement that British professionals could play as amateurs in Canada and the special exemptions would last for five years, a lacrosse delegate asked the AAU of C to "restore the amateur standing of every professional who saw active service in France."[51] These developments illustrated that among some sports officials, the sin of professionalism was something which could be wiped out by the redeeming action of patriotism, however defined, thus restoring the athlete to his amateur status which was in effect a "state of grace".

Not all were convinced that a solution to the amateur-professional problem lay in allowing professionals in one game to compete with amateurs in another. "The idea is all right", said the Star, "but once an athlete gets a taste of blood money he is hard to wean even if he is only playing tiddley winks or pinochle."[52] It was this regulation of a professional in one sport being a professional in all which led to the formation of two more professional leagues in the early 1930's. With the hockey season lasting less than five months, many players wished to compete in other sports for one reason or another. Under the existing amateur regulations, they were not allowed to do so. The solution seemed to be in the formation of new leagues where professionals could play. The procedure had proven itself in hockey. When a surplus of players characterized as professionals was available, minor professional teams and leagues were formed. The effect had been to lessen the apprehension on the part of an amateur to "try out" with a professional club since he now had an opportunity to play hockey somewhere if he failed to make the team of his original choice. In the process, amateur hockey was losing much of its talent. Because of this and in answer to the plea of amateur hockey, the AAU of C, in 1931, allowed hockey players who failed in their professional try-outs to return to amateur hockey. To do so, it was necessary that they make a "statutary declaration to the effect that they received no remuneration for their services other than legitimate travelling and living expenses."[53]

It was this influence of hockey that led to the refurbishing of an older Canadian game — lacrosse. Instead of an outdoor rink with twelve men, the new form was played indoors by seven men teams within the confines of an enclosed "field", much as a skating rink. Named "Box Lacrosse" or "Boxla", the game became an instant success and a natural conditioner for hockey players. In the midst of the depression, a professional league opened in the east in 1931. Teams from Montreal, the Canadiens and the Maroons joined representatives from Cornwall and Toronto. Much publicity was given to the opening game between the Maroons and Toronto. Primo Carnera, in Toronto for a boxing match, performed the ceremonial opening face-off and much was made of the fact that the Maroons were staffed with well known athletes. Hooley Smith, Nels Stewart, Lionel Conacher, Ted Reeve and Dunc Munro were all in the Maroons' line-up. "The enthusiasm for the new game was so great that the Canadian Lacrosse Association adopted it as the official lacrosse game that same year and established new rules to fit indoor play."[54]

After a successful first season, there was talk of expansion for the young professional league. It is interesting to note that all of the cities mentioned as possible sites for new teams were in the United States. Applications for franchises were received from New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago and Syracuse. None materialized and in the end, even though the league was renamed the International Professional Lacrosse League, and the Cornwall franchise was sold to Conny Smythe and renamed the Maple Leafs, the four teams represented only the two cities of Toronto and Montreal.

Although it eventually disbanded, the league was significant for two main reasons. It provided an opportunity for athletes, who were previously barred from other sports to participate in another field of athletic endeavor. As a result, the league had the effect of lessening the fear that a young athlete had in "turning Professional" of not being able to participate in other sports. However, this benefitted only the professional athlete who was of sufficient high calibre in another sport, in this case lacrosse. More importantly, the public identification of "professional" with high calibre was indicated by the use of the word "professional" in the official league title. At one time, athletes did not care to be identified as professionals; by 1932, the term was synonymous with the skilled performer. Conversely, it should be mentioned that the public was able to see that because a man was a professional in one sport did not necessarily mean that he was highly competent in another. Once the novelty of seeing well known hockey players performing on the lacrosse "field" wore off, spectator support decreased and the lacrosse league suspended operations.

Football was another sport not available to the professional hockey players, but by the end of 1932, plans were announced for the formation of a professional team in that sport as well. Without question, the strongest clubs in Canada prior to the mid-20's were the university teams. Representing McGill, the University of Toronto and Queen's, they were so strong that W.A.Hewitt was prompted to write, in 1912, that city teams would in time disappear. His reasoning was that young men starting off in business couldn't afford the necessary time off for practise.[55] Hewitt was limited in his view in that he was unable to see beyond non-commercial teams. Under the existing arrangement, the universities did have more time available for their practises and because of that they were able to refine their skills more readily. In ten years when intercollegiate and city league teams competed for the Grey Cup between 1909 and 1925, the university representatives were victorious in seven. After 1925, the university teams were never to win a Grey Cup again. The reason lay in the trend towards the commercialization of sport which was to provide more time for the athlete to practise and in turn lead to a higher quality of play, larger attendance and greater gate receipts. When the Hamilton Tigers played against Queen's in 1924, the game between the two champions attracted a record 17,000 spectators. From the total gate minus war-tax of $17,483, expenses were deducted and an additional $1,500 given to Queen's as per the arrangement, leaving each team an additional $5,750. The record attendance at Varsity Stadium was interpreted as an indication

> . . . of the hold that sport has on the public. Neither hockey nor lacrosse has ever attracted such a large crowd as this and if the U of T stadium had more accommodation, it is probable that the attendance would have been 25,000 people.[56]

Thus it was that just as the Stanley Cup had initiated a search for the necessary talent to win that trophy and, not incidentally, fifty per cent of the gate receipts, so too did the Grey Cup. The attraction of the Cup and the series of playdowns between the four rival leagues in the country made its impression in the latter part of the 1920's. Although Canadian football was still "amateur" in 1925, it was more so in spirit than in practise. As early as October, 1925, Maclean's started publishing a series of articles dealing with the question of amateurism in Canada. Lou Marsh, in an article entitled "How Amateur Are Canadian Amateurs?" submitted that it was time to end the hypocrisy of amateur sport. As far as Marsh was concerned, there was only one solution to the "problem" of the evasions of the spirit if not the letter of the amateur law: "It is either right or wrong under the amateur code. If it is wrong under the code, it should be checked. If the amateur code is too old fashioned for these modern days, then the code should be amended to suit the times."[57]

In December of 1926, H.H. Roxborough wrote an article entitled: "What is Sport Worth to Canada?". His approach to the question of amateurism typified the Divine Right Theory of most amateur adherents. In his description of the forthcoming meeting of the AAU of C, he stated that the city of St. John was next to play host to the ensuing session "of the Parliament of Canadian Sport . . . . Once a year for nearly four decades, men have temporarily deserted business and professions at the summons of the speaker of this parliament and criss-crossed the northern half of this continent to answer the call of sport — amateur sport."[58] In a later article, "Is Worship of Mammon Killing Amateur Sport?", Roxborough covered many facets of sporting life. Specific to football, he asked: "To-day, by the giving of uniforms, memberships, equipment, too liberal travel allowances, training tables and special comforts, are we not creating in the minds of our athletes, a feeling that they are doing us a favour by playing our games?" To Roxborough, this was not a desirable state of affairs as it was "only a short step across the border to professionalism."[59] The "short step" was to be avoided as far as Roxborough was concerned -- his comments were typical of the general pro amateur sentiments -- because "professionalism's ideal is the making of money, while amateurism's ideal is the making of men."[60]

Football in the 1920's was still in the "situation" stage as far as professionalism was concerned. In Hamilton:

> . . . If a player made a regular place on the team and looked like a good prospect, he would be offered a job in local industry or on the City Hall payroll. Thus we had Ernie Cox, Bert Gibb, French and Languay on the fire department. Sprague was a policeman, Seymore Wilson and Fred Veale in the City Hall. Brian Timmis had the best job of all of us as a foreman with Piggott Construction Company.[61]

The depression, starting in 1929, was responsible for many changes in Canadian football. Centres such as

Sarnia, which had a team sponsored by an oil company, found themselves with an abundance of talent. The question of employment was paramount in the minds of most Canadians and the football players were no exception. "It's hard to explain to the present generation", wrote a contemporary, "who have grown up in the lap of luxury and affluence just what a job meant in those grim days."[62] In Hamilton, Bert Gibb would not attend any Tiger practises until the Club bought him a new bicycle tire. One player refused to play until his cellar was filled with coal while another refused to turn out until he was presented with a sweater coat which was normally presented at the conclusion of a successful season.

With the limited use of the forward pass in 1929 and its subsequent adoption for all of Canada in 1931, the basic subtleties of the game had changed: If a team wished to be immediately successful, it was necessary to import American players who were familiar with the passing technique. In Montreal, the Winged Wheelers, representing the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, imported Warren Stevens from Syracuse. They proceeded through an undefeated season, winning the Grey Cup and some bitter enmity from rival cities in the process. Some people added a fourth "A" to the MAAA and called it the Montreal Almost Amateur Athletic Association.[63]

In the west, where the forward pass had been first used on a trial basis in 1929, Americans had been irregularly imported for a number of years. There too, the exodus of players from the smaller to the larger cities was becoming evident. In Regina, which was hard hit by the depression, five players left for the larger centre of Winnipeg. Among them was Eddie "Dynamite" James -- a famous father of a famous son. In spite of the depressed economic conditions and dust storms, football continued to flourish in the Saskatchewan capital. It was still possible, in 1932, for four thousand spectators to pay a dollar for reserved seats and fifty cents for standing room while watching Regina play Winnipeg St. John's. Regina won the game by a 9 - 1 score. An indication of the proceedings was given by the report that

> post game discussion, heard as the jubilant Saskatchewan fans took the blankets back to the beds, the cars and the horses, was that Regina had quite an edge on the play, that the Regina amateurs were better than the Winnipeg amateurs and the Regina Americans were better than the Winnipeg Americans.64

While the arrival of the American players caused little controversy in the west, their appearance in the east resulted in suspensions and investigations. As rival cities in the Interprovincial and Ontario Unions accused each other of professionalism, an announcement was made that several promotors were interested in the formation of a professional league. The promotors included Leo Dandurand of Montreal, Tommy Gorman of Ottawa and Lionel Conacher of

Toronto. Again, hockey players were to be the chief source of player talent along with other players who had been professionalized. Conacher stated that "professional football is going ahead by leaps and bounds in the United States and we intend to have a shot at it."[65]

It should be mentioned that while many athletes were being attracted by professional sport because of the scarcity of jobs, much of the glamor which was being associated with it was due to promotion on the part of the entrepreneurs. Coupled with the improved media availability, this was probably the major factor in providing for the acceptability of commercialized sport by the public. In the early stages of Canadian sporting history, the media, particularly the newspapers, would cover an event as a result of what it felt to be of interest to the public. As late as 1928, the Toronto Globe stated that "publicity reflected public interest."[66] Yet it was difficult then, as it is to-day, to determine whether the publicity was as a result of genuine or manufactured interest. Certainly, newspapers which reported the "turning professional" of a celebrated amateur did much to lay the groundwork for the acceptance of professional sport. There was also a certain amount of mystique and awe surrounding the large salaries being paid to hockey players at a time when it was almost impossible to find work. It is impossible to measure accurately, for example, the amount of goodwill and prestige which accrued to the Toronto Maple Leafs and Conny Smythe when the Toronto Manager exchanged a reported $35,000 plus two players, for the Ottawa Senators' Frank "King" Clancy.[67] It was only natural for people to assume that any man who could command that much money had to be good!

At a time when money was becoming a source of status because of its scarcity, Clancy, and by extension the Toronto Maple Leafs, hockey players and the National Hockey League, as well as professional athletes, all bathed in the reflected honor. When the Leafs postponed their initial practise of the 1930 season without informing the public, "thousands of fans who journeyed to the Arena Gardens for the noon hour workout were disappointed."[68] Smythe apologized for any inconvenience he might have caused and the Gardens prepared for Saturday's practise when "as many as four thousand people are expected to look on . . . . This augurs well for the Leafs for they had to pay a record price for King Clancy from Ottawa so they have to attract capacity crowds at every game."[69]

With the Toronto arena having a seating capacity of nine thousand, the growth of revenue for the Maple Leafs was effectively stifled. It was apparent that a new arena, one preferably owned by the club, was necessary if better salaries were to be paid to the players and more profits available for the owners. At a time when the whole of the financial world was in an uproar, the Leafs decided to build a new rink. A special issue of the hockey program was prepared with the needs of the Leafs highlighted as well as preliminary drawings of a new arena. Originally intended only for the patrons who attended Leaf games, they were eventually made available to the listening public. Much of the Leafs' popularity was due to Canada's "Voice of Hockey", Foster Hewitt. During one of his broadcasts, he mentioned that interested listeners could send ten cents to the Club's office so as to obtain a copy of the program and read of the Leafs' future plans.

> The response was terrific. Foster made his plea during the Saturday night broadcast. On the following Monday morning, three large regulation size mailbags were delivered, all of them requesting programs and many of them offering suggestions. We had planned to sell thirty-two thousand programs during the season, but instead had to come up with ninety-one thousand.[70]

The building and opening of Maple Leaf Gardens during the depths of economic depression "must surely be listed as the most important single factor in giving the game its new status."[71] Its erection was essentially a community venture. That fact and the timing of the construction were in themselves cause for enthusiasm over the project. However, there was more. Maple Leaf Gardens changed the concept of what an arena should be and in the process served as a prototype for future arena developments. Previously, arenas were cold and wholly functional. It seemed to be considered that hockey spectators would endure the discomforts in order to watch their favorites perform. The seats, for example were likely to consist of hard and backless benches, much different from those in theatre houses.

> Bur when Maple Leaf Gardens opened its doors to the general public, the overall cleanliness and swank of the new building ushered in a new era for long-suffering hockey patrons. It was only natural that women, who previously hated to dress for the stodgy old arenas of yesteryear, were glad to wear their best to see the Maple Leafs in their new arena. And just as surely as the apparel of the lady fans stepped up in quality, that of the men followed suit. Hockey crowds now had real class. At times, special parties of young men and women attended the games in formal attire. They looked as glamorous and appeared to belong just as truly as the occupants of any box at the opera.[72]

From almost every standpoint, the opening of the Gardens was an unqualified success. The largest crowd ever to attend an indoor event in Toronto, 13,342, was on hand for the Thursday night, November 12, 1931, opening to witness a game between the Leafs and the Chicago Black Hawks. Financially the season was equally as successful, "the receipts from National Hockey League games alone was $164,000 higher than the gross hockey income at Arena Gardens during the previous winter."[73]

Publicity about Maple Leaf Gardens and hockey in general was massive. One was left with the feeling that all of Toronto was keenly interested in the progress of the Maple Leafs and the professional hockey of the NHL. An indication of the part that radio played in its promotion was given by a picture of Maple Leaf Charlie Conacher. It appeared in radio section of the Globe with the caption: Charlie Conacher, brilliant right winger of the Toronto Maple Leafs' famous Kid Line of Primeau, Jackson and Conacher, who will be interviewed by Wes McKnight during the Velvet Edge Sportsview, Tuesday night at 6:30 over CFRB."[74] When the Leafs defeated the Montreal Maroons in the semi-finals of the Stanley Cup series, it was front page news in the Globe, two days in succession. During the final series that same year, 1932, all of Toronto seemed keenly interested in the outcome of the series with the New York Rangers. The Mayor of Toronto, W.J. Stuart, sent a telegram to the Leafs on the eve of their final game with New York:

> Captain Happy Day, Maple Leafs, Madison Square Gardens. On behalf of the citizens of your hometown, I send you and the boys greetings on the eve of their battle for the Stanley Cup. We are proud of the past performances of your team and express the hope that they may come through with a win to-night. Best of Luck.[75]

With the victory of the Leafs, the Globe printed a half page congratulatory message alongside pictures of each of the Leafs as well as a short description, all very favorable, of how each played. Interestingly, it was during the 1932 season that a much expected tradition of to-day first started. Imperial Oil marketed a gasoline under the brand name of "three star". After each game, Charlie Querrie picked the three stars of the game thereby blending the selection with the commercial message. Three star gasoline has long since been in demise but the practise of choosing three stars after each game has become a tradition in almost every hockey league.

Radio was also being used to familiarize the public with a club's personnel in football. By 1932, night football as well as radio broadcasts were regular features in the west. In Winnipeg, during a game between the Rugby Club led by Carl Cronin of Notre Dame and St. John's team, led by Russ Rebholz from Wisconsin, the first quarter was announced over the loudspeaking system at the park. In many respects, radio and publicity were needed. The character of a city's representative team had changed. No longer were team members composed of "the boys down the street". The influx of the unemployed into the cities, the amount of time available to people to watch sporting competitions, the attendant glamorizing of sporting competitors by the media all served to emphasize the high quality of skill in the professional athlete. Even the staid University of Toronto decided to hire a "professional coach" for its football team. Warren Stevens was hired in 1932, one year after having led the Winged Wheelers to the Grey Cup championship.

And so it was that professionalism in sport was being accorded a new status. Perhaps it was as a result of the lessening of the ties between Canada and Britain. It might have been as a result of the scarcity of money during the depression and therefore the resultant coveting of whatever could be done to earn it. Whatever, the fact remains that the professional athlete of 1884 was simply a person who was thus characterized because of his association with money, however minute. In 1932, the term had acquired a new dimension. More often than not, the connotation was linked to quality in performance. Interestingly enough, it could also be noticed that a distinction would have to be made between the "professional" organization and the "professional" player. The organization was a commercial sporting venture which was interested in promoting sport in order to maximize its profits -- play-offs would be an example of this; the players could negotiate their contracts but once they signed they could only earn more if they bettered their skills and re-negotiated at the end of their contract period. In effect they were informed of the limits of the game and told to display their abilities within those bounds thought to be the best combination which would appeal to the spectator and maximize profits for the owners.

Naturally, professional sport was not accepted by all. To some, the professional athlete was still prostituting the "true" ends of sport. Many more, however, were of the same opinion as Webber's advice to McHarg in the Thomas Wolfe novel You Can't Go Home Again:

> They'll talk to you, for instance, about prostituting your talent. They'll warn you not to write for money. Not to sell your soul to Hollywood. Not to do a dozen other things that have nothing whatever to do with you or your life. You won't prostitute yourself. A man's talent doesn't get prostituted just because someone waves a fat check in his face. If your talent is prostituted, it is because you are a prostitute by nature.[76]

FOOTNOTES TO PART TWO, III

[1] W.L. Morton, "The 1920's", The Canadians. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1967, p. 207.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[5] Toronto *Globe,* December 22, 1901.

[6] Kevin Jones, Sport in Canada, 1900-1920. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of Alberta, Spring 1970, p. 7.

[7] Norman Pearson, "From Villages to Cities", *The Canadians*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1967, p. 635.

[8] W.L. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 229.

[10] AAU of C Minutes, 1921, p. 4.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[12] Keith Lansley, The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of Alberta, 1971, p. 165.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] H.H. Roxborough, *The Stanley Cup Story*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, Ltd., 1971, p. 65.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Toronto *Globe and Mail*, February 16, 1973.

[17] W.A. Hewitt, *Down the Stretch*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1958, p. 135.

[18] Toronto *Globe and Mail*, February 16, 1973.

[19] Foster Hewitt, *Hockey Night In Canada*. Toronto:

[20] *Ibid*., p. 215.

[21] Ottawa *Citizen*, December 9, 1924.

[22] Toronto *Telegram*, January 8, 1925.

[23] Toronto *Star*, January 10, 1922.

[24] Toronto *Telegram*, March 13, 1925.

[25] *Ibid*., March 14, 1925.

[26] Foster Hewitt, *op. cit*., p. 76.

[27] Toronto *Globe*, March 16, 1927.

[28] *Ibid*., April 28, 1927.

[29] Frank Selke, *Behind The Cheering*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962, p. 76.

[30] *Ibid*., p. 77.

[31] *Ibid*.

[32] Toronto *Globe*, January 24, 1928

[33] H.H. Roxborough, *The Stanley Cup Story*, *op. cit*., p. 116.

[34] Cited in the Toronto *Globe*, April 7, 1928.

[35] *Ibid*.

[36] Toronto *Globe*, March 24, 1930.

[37] Toronto *Globe*, May 24, 1930.

[38] *Ibid*.

[39] Lansley, *op. cit*., p. 210.

[40] *Ibid*.

[41] Minutes of the AAU of C, 1933, p. 83.

[42] *Ibid*., p. 84.

[43] During 1932 these sports included cricket, golf and indoor bowling.

[44] Minutes of the AAU of C, 1933, p. 86.

[45] *Ibid*., p. 111.

[46] Minutes of the AAU of C, 1913, p. 20.

[47] Toronto *Globe*, October 1, 1923.

[48] *Manitoba Free Press*, April 19, 1924.

[49] *Ibid*.

[50] *Ibid*.

[51] *Ibid*.

[52] Toronto *Star*, October 21, 1925.

[53] Toronto *Globe*, January 19, 1931.

[54] Max Howell and Nancy Howell, *Sport And Games in Canadian Life*. Toronto: MacMillan and Company, 1969, p. 311.

[55] F. Cosentino, *Canadian Football: The Grey Cup Years*. Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1969, p. 38.

[56] Toronto *Globe*, November 24, 1924.

[57] Cited in Cosentino, *op. cit*., p. 86.

[58] *Ibid*., p. 87.

[59] *Ibid*.

[60] *Ibid*.

[61] Bruce Inksetter, Letter to the writer, December 12, 1968.

[62] *Ibid*.

[63] Cosentino, *op. cit*., p. 95.

[64] Winnipeg *Free Press*, November 9, 1932.

[65] *Ibid*., December 10, 1932.

[66] Toronto *Globe*, December 28, 1927.

[67] Brian McFarlane, The Lively World of Hockey. Toronto: Signet Books, 1968, p. 48.

[68] Toronto Globe, November 1, 1930.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Frank Selke, Behind The Cheering. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962, p. 85.

[71] Ibid., p. 92.

[72] Ibid.

[73] W.A. Hewitt, Down The Stretch. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1958, p. 229.

[74] Toronto Globe, February 15, 1932.

[75] Ibid., April 6, 1932.

[76] Thomas Wolfe, You Can't Go Home Again. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1934, p. 575.

PART THREE

THE MYTH OF INVINCIBILITY

1933-1972

The era dating from the depression was one of unparalleled material growth and yet one of the most foreboding periods in the history of mankind. Global and near-global conflicts were fought as a result of battles in Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, China, Europe, Korea, the Near East, Indo-China . . . . Atomic energy was harnessed, television made its impact and man escaped his environment to the point where he walked on the moon. The universe, once considered infinite seemed within man's grasp. Automobiles raced along at high speeds over crowded super highways while jet planes soared high above at speeds faster than sound. Continents shrunk, technology expanded and knowledge exploded. It was the era of the computer, the specialist and the instant replay. Within this milieu, increased adulation existed for the professional athlete. Known colloquially as the "pro", he assumed an aura of superiority. More than that,as the years progressed, he came to be a product of his publicity. He was inconquerable, powerful, indefatigable, unyielding, indomitable, uncompromising -- until the summer of '72 when the myth of invincibility was shattered.

I

THE EMERGENCE OF THE PRO, 1933-1938

During the 1930's, the economics of the nation were at a low ebb. The Prairies with their dependence upon grain crops were struck prostrate, their fields relieved of top soil, dust storms swirling about and their markets closed. The economy as a whole was overthrown; life was seemingly downcast. And yet, as thousands of Canadians "rode the rails" and established their version of "Bennett-burgs",[1] there was an awareness that the effects could be lessened by mutual assistance. Charitable organizations provided a measure of relief by establishing "bread lines" to feed the unemployed. In the field of sport, many leagues and organizations opened their gates and waived the normal admission fee. Some indication of the involvement of sporting bodies can be gained from the following resolution passed by the city council of Toronto in 1933:

> Resolved that the thanks and appreciation of this Council be tendered to the Amateur Athletic Union, Ontario Branch, the Ontario Hockey Association, the Canadian Hockey Association, the management and staff of Maple Leaf Gardens, the management and players of the Maple Leaf Hockey Team, the management and players of the Nationals, Marlboros, University of Toronto and Niagara Falls Hockey teams, the management and artists of the Toronto Skating Club, the director and musicians of the band of the 48th Highlanders, the sports editor of the

> Toronto daily newspapers and the people who attended the event for their splendid co-operation and contributions to the very successful entertainment held in Maple Leaf Gardens Saturday afternoon last for the relief of the unemployed.[2]

In addition to the benefit shows, some groups seemed prepared to adapt their standards to the difficult times. Norman Coates, of Arlington, Ontario, offered to "mush his team of dogs over the three hundred mile route from Ottawa to Quebec carrying a banner on his dogsled advertising the dog derby",[3] which was to be held in Quebec, in lieu of an entrance fee payment. He had written to the Quebec officials stating his wish to enter but being unemployed could not raise the necessary money. His suggestion was accepted.

With all the hardship, a seeming paradox was developing. Sport as an entertainment spectacle was booming, especially in Toronto. On one particular Saturday in March, ten thousand spectators attended a junior OHA hockey game between Newmarket and the Toronto Nationals in the afternoon while more than twelve thousand watched an NHL contest in the evening between the Leafs and the Maroons. "In all there were 23,177 paid admissions and attendance records were established for amateur and professional games this season."[4] As if to underscore the new found interest in sport, the Globe announced that commencing with its issue of January 20, sports news was to be given much more prominence. Readers were promised that the first page of the second section would lead off the expanded coverage which was to include illustrations and a daily sports cartoon by Chuck Templeton.[5]

Probably the increased interest in sport was related to the increased time available to the public and their need for a diversion. Quite possibly, it was as a result of the increased publicity through newspapers and radio but whatever, spectators continued to support their athletic teams in a way previously unheard of. At the June 28 opening of the 1934 baseball season in Toronto, the game was significant in two respects: It was the first night baseball game played in Toronto by the Maple Leafs; it attracted a record attendance of 16,000.[6] It was also during the 1934 season that more than 15,000 hockey followers attended the NHL's innaugural All-Star game. It was played as a benefit for Ace Bailey, a Toronto forward who had been injured almost to the point of death, by Eddie Shore of the Boston Bruins. Newspapers carried detailed accounts of Bailey's fight for his life while demands were being made from many quarters that Shore be banned from the game for life. Bailey recovered but not sufficiently well to play hockey again and to ease his transition from the NHL, a benefit game was arranged for Maple Leaf Gardens. The match between the Toronto Maple Leafs and a collection of league All-Stars attracted 15,000 spectators who contributed more than $20,000 to the Bailey fund.

Aside from the amount of publicity devoted to the previously unheard of concept of bringing together so many "stars" to play under one roof and their charity in risking injury to help a fellow player, much was written about the fact that Shore was a member of the All-Star aggregation. There was considerable discussion about what reaction would take place when Shore and Bailey would meet. During the pre-game ceremonies, Bailey walked slowly to centre ice for the ceremonial face-off. Upon reaching his destination, Shore skated over to meet him with his hand outstretched. With no hesitation, Bailey grasped Shore's hand. The two men embraced each other while the huge throng, which only weeks ago had been advocating Shore's expulsion, now responded with an emotional roar of approval.

> There stood the two main actors in a drama that held a sports world breathless with suspense and fear for days as a gallant athlete fought for life with a tenacity and complete disregard for all the sinister medical precedents that amazed even the expert practitioners. The roaring crescendo of welcome struck its peak, of course, as the two clasped hands but throughout the hockey battle that followed, as Shore played a typical rushing, effective game there was nothing but applause for his movements. It was a generous, fine and sporting episode in a sporting city's history.[7]

Although the game was a benefit contest and as such had a built-in attendance guarantee, it appeared that the NHL was riding a crest of popularity. With reduced prices in effect, there was an increase in total season revenue for the 1934-35 season. The Leafs were second to the New York Rangers in revenue from attendance, spectators paying the sum of $253,292 for the twenty-four home games.[8] As a result of the play-offs, the winning Montreal Maroons received $900 for their seven game series; in the previous year, the Chicago Black Hawks had received $835 for eight games played. The increase in revenue was based on increased attendance, in spite of one less game being played.[9]

The paradox of popularity extended to other sports as well. Box lacrosse was initially popular, but collapsed after two seasons. In football, Lionel Conacher's plans for a professional team materialized in 1933. Stocked mainly with hockey players and wrestlers who because of their professional status were unable to play with Canadian Rugby Union teams, it was the first "professional" football team in Canada. Named after its commercial sponsor, the Cross and Blackwell Chefs played against teams from Buffalo and Rochester. People were attracted to the games initially to see the Conacher brothers play, as well as out of curiosity. Lionel was an outstanding all round athlete and a member of the Montreal Maroons while Charlie, his younger brother, was an accomplished goal scorer and celebrity with the Toronto Maple Leafs. In their first game of the season, the Chefs attracted 13,000 spectators. Attendance fell off during the remainder of the season and in 1934 the team suspended operations. The calibre of play was not what people were led to believe by the "professional" designation. However, the point had been made among the various city teams of the CRU. Gate receipts were to be made from football. Of course this seeming truism had been known before but clubs were continually wondering how spectators would react if their teams were "professionalized". The Chefs initial successes provided them with the answer.

Ever since the introduction of the forward pass and its attendant alteration of the game, the hope was expressed in many quarters that the new tactic would be learned and used by the Canadian player. A number of factors combined to by-pass that notion. Clubs, naturally, were interested in gate receipts. Then, as now, and probably forever, teams which won regularly were well supported by their followers. As a result, some clubs were not particularly eager to take the time necessary for their native talent to develop the art of passing. It was known that ready made passers could be found in the United States and many clubs took advantage of the situation to import to fill their needs. At a time when Canadian football teams were looking for this expertise, more and more were becoming available because of the depression. Initial hesitancies on the part of the Americans to move to a foreign land were dispelled with the opportunity to earn money from football and the job provided by the club.

It should be mentioned that Americans had been playing football in Canada for years. Some of the most famous names in the early years of the twentieth century were American: Tom Clancy of Ottawa, Frank Shaughnessy of McGill, Deacon White of Edmonton, Fred Ritter of Regina. Their arrival in Canada was motivated by other than football though. Yet, for one reason or another, they associated themselves with the development of football in Canada and the game has been richer for it. The year 1929 signalled a concerted search for the import with football talent. There was, in fact, a premonition of the future when news of the CRU's experimental use of the forward pass in 1929 was coupled with the announcement that the size of the ball would be reduced so as to conform with the one used in the United States. Because the American companies had reduced their ball size and also supplied Canada with its footballs, "the Canadian Union was requested to fall into line and make it a standard item."[10]

As the season opened in the west, Saskatoon and Regina did not use the forward pass at all. Calgary, using Jerry Seiberling of Drake University employed the forward pass after the game had been safely decided. They defeated Edmonton by a 33 - 8 score. While Regina represented the west in the Grey Cup in 1929, they had thrown the ball only four times during the year. The only player who had any experience throwing the ball in a spiral was the snapback who in passing situations was moved back into the halfline. It was chiefly because of the Regina team's use of the pass in the Grey Cup game of 1929, they were 8 for 11, that the Roughrider attempt was described as "the finest fight of any western team in the Canadian final."[11]

It was the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association which, as in lacrosse and hockey, led the way to the transition to professional football. For the 1931 season, the Winged Wheelers added Warren Stevens to their roster. Given the Wheelers' success (Stevens led the way to an undefeated season and the Grey Cup) there was soon a rush among other teams to bring in their own imports. It was not so much the prospect of money which was used initially to bring the imports to Canada; during the early thirties the prospect of a job was enough. So it was that a new power burst on the Canadian football scene. The small southwestern Ontario city of Sarnia was able to win the Grey Cup in 1934 and 1936 in addition to being contenders throughout the depression years. The Sarnia area enjoyed a distinct advantage over other cities. The team had commercial sponsorship; Imperial Oil provided jobs as well as the name for the ORFU entry.

By 1933, almost every team in the east was bringing in American players with the offer of a job. The Toronto Argonauts hired Lew Hayman as coach; their lineup included two other Americans, Andy Mullen and Frank Tindall.

Montreal had three; Ottawa, a total of five. Amid reports decrying the trend away from amateurism in football, Hamilton issued a bitter denunciation towards its rivals. A spokesman for the Tigers who had been steadfast in its dependence on Canadians, stated:

> Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto are treading on dangerous ground by bringing those U.S. stars into this country. They are giving the Interprovincial Union a black eye. Hamilton fans can rest assured, for the Tigers will never be guilty of any move that will even suggest professionalism. We'd sooner pull away from the Union than see Amateurism defeated and that's exactly what we'll do if we can prove anything against the other clubs.[12]

Within a year, Hamilton also joined the leaders and began its process of importation but it was in the west that the possibilities of importation were re-inforced. Whether it was the increased possibility of higher gate receipts or because of the ever unfolding east-west rivalry, is difficult to say but it can be definitely stated that the trend towards outright professionalism in football manifested itself more clearly because of developments in Winnipeg in 1935. That year provided an insight into the problem of amateur-professional relations and also gave an indication of the relative importance attached to these concepts in the east and west. In 1935, Winnipeg made use of information that it had gathered from a series of exhibition games in 1934 against northern United States teams. Joe Ryan, the General Manager, financed by a group of

Winnipeg business men, journeyed into that area of the States known as the "Swede Belt". He returned with the playing services of seven Americans, who added to the two from 1934, made a total of nine Americans that Winnipeg would use in 1935. Fritz Hanson was hired from North Dakota State for the sum of $125 per game. Bob Fritz from Concordia College was added as coach and quarterback and paid $900 for the season. The other seven players received $500 each. With $7,400 budgeted for the players' salaries, expenses for the year's sixteen games was $15,000. There were no contracts signed; all agreements were verbal. The standard CRU card used by all clubs to bind their players was the only piece of paper requiring a signature. In addition to the salaries, each player was promised employment in Winnipeg.[13]

As far as anyone could tell, these men were amateurs. There were suspicions that they were not but there was no evidence to the contrary. The residence rule, which was an obstacle to professionalism in the east -- players there had to reside in the city where they played from June 1 of the current playing season -- was no such impediment in the west. There, the rule required that a player be a continuous resident of the city or town for which he played from the first day of September. Since all teams in the west were practising by the first of September, the rule was ineffectual in curbing professionalism and paid only lip service to amateurism. It should be noted at this time that since the end of the first war, the Amateur Athletic Unions of the western provinces had been advocating the mixing of amateurs and professionals. While the policy was not approved at the national level, it was more or less sanctioned by the provincial bodies. Teams in the east were more aware of the "problem". When the 1934 Grey Cup champion Sarnia Imperials successfully toured the west in 1935, an incident in Calgary brought the sectional outlook on amateur-professional relations into sharp focus. Carl Cronin, whom the east knew to be a "professional", attempted to play for the hometown Bronks against the Imperials. The Sarnia team walked off the field and refused to play until Cronin removed himself from the game. The fear was still very real among the eastern teams of losing one's amateur status. In point of fact, the situation was such that in 1935, the Ottawa branch of the AAU of C suspended every player in the Interprovincial Union as well as those from Queen's University. Their "sin" was that they played against an Ottawa player who was using an assumed name because he had been earlier "professionalized". It was only through the intervention of the president of the national amateur body that the zealous branch's suspension was lifted.

When the results of the Winnipeg approach were manifested in the first victory for the west in Grey Cup competition; reaction, both east and west, was predictable.

In the east, the Canadian Rugby Union, which was effectively controlled by the eastern leagues, legislated a new residence rule. It stated that in order to play in any game under the jurisdiction of the CRU, the player must reside in Canada for at least one year prior to October first of the current playing year. For purposes of the 1936 season, the date of continued residence was set as March first. All the CRU delegates with the exception of the three from the west, voted for the resolution. As well, the eastern Interprovincial Union revised its own regulation -- January first in the case of Americans who had not previously played in Canada and June first for others. As a result, eleven players were designated as barred in the east in 1936. However, the rule was mere "window dressing"; both Ottawa and Montreal ignored the ruling with little consequence.

In the west, the unexpected occurred. It was generally felt that Winnipeg with its returning players would successfully defend its Grey Cup. It was not to be. The Regina team, despite the hardships of the depression and the drought, won the western title. With five new Americans who could not qualify for the new residence restriction, the Saskatchewan team, amid much bitterness and rancor, withdrew its challenge for the Grey Cup.

The interesting feature of football in the thirties was the rise in popularity and increased attendance at a time when conditions were difficult. The financial situation and the drought was not enough to dissuade four thousand spectators from paying a dollar for reserved seats and fifty cents for standing room to watch the visiting Winnipeg team play the hometown Regina favorites.[14] Charity organizers were quick to recognize the place that football held in the hearts of Winnipeggers after their Grey Cup victory of 1935. The Winnipeg Tribune Empty Stocking Fund auctioned off the shoes worn by Fritzie Hanson on his seventy-five yard touchdown run in Winnipeg's 18 - 12 victory over Hamilton. Autographed by Hanson, they were bought by Mr. John T. Boyd for $125, "enough to provide 375 children with toys, candies, fruit and a merry Christmas. When Fritz learned about the cheer that was spread, he had a merrier Christmas too."[15]

In spite of the distances between them, Winnipeg, Regina and Calgary formed the Western Interprovincial Football Union in 1937. It was this new Union, because of its increasing dependence on American players, which initiated much of the Americanization of the game. Two of the immediate changes made were that passing was allowed from any point behind the line of scrimmage (because this was in vogue in the United States professional football, it was colloquially known as the "Pro Pass") as was ten yard interference. It was apparent that if a club was going to pay an American player for his talent as a football player, the rules should allow him to exhibit his talent.

Thus, more and more, western rules were modified so as to come closer to the American game. The changes did not adversely affect the game's popularity. Attendances were rising to the point where crowds of five and six thousand were becoming the rule rather than the exception. The increasing popularity was no doubt assisted by radio. In 1937, for example, a record number of people followed the play-off between the Calgary Bronks and Winnipeg Blue Bombers as a result of the broadcast of the game over the CBC Radio West network.

Expansion in the west took place in 1938 when Bob Fritz, the playing coach of Winnipeg's 1937 Grey Cup finalists moved to Edmonton. Fritz coached the Edmonton addition to the WIFU as well as being a sportscaster on radio station CJCA. The sum of $13,700 was spent on the new Joseph A. Clarke Stadium to bring the seating capacity up to two thousand. An additional fifteen hundred seats were installed in 1939, more for the royal visit in May, but of great benefit to football. In addition, another $5,500 was spent by the City of Edmonton to equip the park with lights in preparation for the twelve game schedule commencing the 1939 season.

East and west, the popularity of football was increasing. A record number of spectators, 18,778, were attracted to the 1938 game. They witnessed an unheralded twenty year old from Barrie, Buster "Red" Storey, run for three fourth quarter touchdowns in leading the Argonauts to a 30 - 7 victory over Winnipeg. Storey was actively recruited by Winnipeg for the 1939 season being offered a job with the Maytag Company at $175 per month plus an additional $1,250 for playing football.[16] As inferred previously, it was common knowledge that players were being paid but unlike earlier times, the mark of professionalism appeared to be sought after rather than discouraged. Nowhere was this more evident than in Canada's most popular sport, hockey.

If there was any single factor responsible for the creation of a good image for hockey, it was the media, particularly the radio and specifically Foster Hewitt. The "voice of hockey" once stated in his early days of broadcasting that one of his fears was that he never knew whether anyone was listening. Hewitt had his doubts answered and in the process, the impact of his popularity and his "product" emerged without question in the spring of 1934. During that year, Dick Irvin, the Toronto coach, suggested that the Leafs and Detroit Red Wings should embark on a western tour at the end of the 1933-34 season. Detroit agreed. By coincidence, Detroit and the Leafs met in the Stanley Cup semi-finals, Detroit defeating the Maple Leafs only to lose to Chicago in the final series. With the tour set for April, the Canadian Pacific Railway provided a special car for each team plus an additional dining car solely for the use of the two clubs. The Railway company was pleased with the amount of goodwill that would accrue from the trip. Meals were provided for moderate prices with no extra charge for additional portions. The series was viewed as an opportunity for a relaxed demonstration of hockey along with an opportunity to see the Rockies. None had really anticipated what transpired. "From the first morning when the train stopped at Jackfish, north of Lake Superior, the Maple Leafs were mobbed by the fans Foster Hewitt's voice had won for them."[17] It was indeed evident that Hewitt's voice had created the Leafs' image. Detroit had a better record than the Leafs on the season, had eliminated them from further contention in the play-offs and yet were practically ignored. "One young boy asked Detroit's Ebbie Goodfellow, a fine player, for his autograph. When he read his name, he said: 'who's that?' and dropped the paper in the slush at his feet."[18]

It seemed that the further the Maple Leafs travelled from Toronto the more rabid were the followers. Civic officials in almost every city requested that the train stop for an hour or two so as to allow the public "to meet the hockey players from the east."[19] At Medicine Hat the train was met by some forty-five hundred people who arranged for a motorcade through the city and welcoming speeches. The Detroit players were smarting from the lack of recognition and as the tour progressed, they forced the Leafs to concentrate on hockey, the result being well played games before the enthusiastic throngs. The cities of Winnipeg, Calgary and Trail gave spirited welcomes. In Vancouver, the visitors were treated as "visiting royalty" causing Frank Selke to wonder how they "could have been given more fame or favours."[20]

It was evident that the Leafs were becoming "public property" because of the huge amounts of publicity they were receiving coupled with their playing ability. "They were hailed as national heroes and their fans couldn't read or hear enough about Clancy and Jackson and Horner and Conacher."[21]

> The thirties were when details of the Leafs players' personal lives became a passionate delight for many fans and the sports pages began to fill up with news of Clancy's diet and Primeau's home life and Conacher's predeliction for swift roadsters. Stories of the Leafs' wild pranks and practical jokes somehow turned into hard news and fans by the thousands wrote in to the Bee Hive Company enclosing labels from syrup cans in exchange for glossy black and white photographs of their favorite Maple Leaf stars. Thorncliffe Race Track in Toronto made a practice of naming stakes races after individual Leafs and when Hap Day was married in the summer of 1937, three thousand Toronto fans stood outside the church to catch a glimpse of the bridegroom and of his best man, King Clancy and of his ushers Red Horner, Ace Bailey and Harold Cotton.[22]

To be sure, the Leaf management headed by Conny Smythe and Frank Selke encouraged and promoted publicity. In 1934, with their regular Saturday night game falling on St. Patrick's Day, it was decided to promote the game by honoring

King Clancy. Huge advertisements were placed in the Toronto newspapers with Clancy surrounded by Shamrocks and other Irish symbols.[23] Youths particularly were susceptible to the publicity barrage. A correspondent from Lindsay reported being told by his Minister that when a young lad was asked by his Sunday school teacher: "And who are the Pharisees?", the lad answered "Primeau, Jackson and Conacher!"[24] -- an obvious reference to the "kid line" of the Maple Leafs.

National Hockey League officials were also noticing that fewer pucks which went into the stands were being returned. Prior to the 1934 season, the majority of pucks were thrown back onto the ice; they were now being kept more and more for souvenirs.[25] It was becoming evident, too, that hockey was developing its own vernacular:

> Hockey writers often referred to the goal area as an "igloo" or a "citadel". Sometimes it was a "cord cottage" or "hempen net" and more often a "net", "cage", or "twine". The hockey stick was a "cudgel", "war club", "hickory" or "wand". A player didn't shoot the puck, he "sifted" it, "whipped" it, or "burned" it. The puck itself was a "disc", a "doughnut", a "rubber" or an "old boot heel". So when a sports writer wrote: "Old sorrel-top got the thumb from Odie the arbiter", any fan worth his salt knew that Red Horner had been penalized by Odie Cleghorn.[26]

If the style of the written word was able to conjure up a certain familiarity of play, it was certain that the voice of Foster Hewitt was adding another dimension for his listening audience. While he delivered descriptions of many sporting events, it was with hockey that he became the most identified.

> . . . He seemed to flourish most brilliantly when he sat over his microphone describing for his audience the adventures of the Toronto Maple Leafs. He developed a colloquial, excited style for his hockey broadcasts. He conveyed a breathless intimacy, an almost visible sense of the action in hockey games that seemed irresistable to distant fans seated by their radios far away from the arenas. Hewitt wasn't especially literate or colourful or even graphic in his verbal style, but somehow he got through, he registered, he created a picture in the air that hockey fans could make their own. His voice meant only one thing -- it meant hockey and that was enough.[27]

Radio itself was still in its infancy. The mere fact that one could listen to an event or program emanating from some source hundreds of miles away was in itself novel. Ranked in popularity with the expression from Fibber and McGhee and Molly's "T'aint funny McGhee" or Henry Aldrich's "coming mother", stood Foster Hewitt's "he shoots, he scores" delivered "in a rising crescendo of excitement and supported by the bedlam of fans in Maple Leaf Gardens." Listening to Hockey Night in Canada became a Saturday night ritual, "the next best thing to sitting in the Gardens."[28]

It was within this context and background that any unusual incident served to heighten the interest in the professional hockey players. The longest game played to that date was surrounded by publicity. On April 1, 1933, the Leafs were playing Boston in the deciding game of the Stanley Cup semi-final series. A large throng of 14,540, who, as it turned out, were almost as tired as the players, stayed through five overtime twenty minute periods to watch Ken Doraty score the winning goal for the Leafs at 4:46 of the sixth overtime period. Three seasons later, the Montreal Maroons were to lose to Detroit in a game which was twelve minutes longer. After 176 minutes and thirty seconds, Mud Bruneteau scored the winning goal for Detroit. As fate would have it, however, it was two deaths and the hint of a demise that helped to enhance the aura of the professional hockey player. When King George V died in 1936, the NHL, out of respect, cancelled a scheduled game between the Maple Leafs and the Montreal Maroons. "The tribute was the first of its kind paid by the National League in its existence."[29] In a game at Boston between the Maroons and the Bruins, the attendance of more than fourteen thousand rose as the lights dimmed and heard three buglers play "taps". As a further sign of tribute, the Maroons wore black arm bands on their left sleeves.[30] On January 28, the day of the funeral, the game between the Maroons and the Black Hawks was postponed.[31] It was further announced that "in keeping with the national sentiment, General Motors has cancelled its hockey broadcast"[32] of the Toronto-Detroit game which was played in the interim of the death and the funeral. It would be callous to say that these actions were not done out of respect and that is not the issue here. The point is that the exhibition of patriotism itself was appreciated but when it was plainly seen by all that patriotism and respect was placed before the opportunity to earn money, it served, once again, to illustrate that the owners and the players were not attempting to earn profits at the expense of good taste. By putting decorum above profits, the league served notice of its integrity -- an essential ingredient if professional sport was to survive.

The second death was that of Howie Morenz. On March 8, 1937, the fourteen year veteran of the NHL suddenly died from a heart attack at the age of 34. "In the years following the bleak night when he died, he became a legend."[33] Morenz was born in Mitchell, Ontario, of German parentage but the Canadiens promoted the notion that he was "Swiss with a French spirit."[34] During his twelve years with the Canadiens, he became the idol of thousands, a model for youth to emulate, a player to dream about.

> . . . Morenz was far more than a Canadian hero. To youngsters all over Canada he was to hockey what Babe Ruth was to baseball and Jack Dempsey was to boxing -- a fairy tale figure who could do things no one else could do and against greater odds. When Morenz duped a defenceman, it was David slaying Goliath . . . .[35]

On the night of January 28, Morenz broke his leg and was confined to a hospital bed. After the initial publicity surrounding the circumstances, Morenz faded from the sports pages. Abruptly, headlines "screamed out" the news. Morenz was dead. Out of respect, the Canadiens moved to cancel their game which was to be played the next evening. Morenz's widow interceded and asked that it be played because her husband would have wanted it that way.[36] The attendance at the game was a strangely silent one but not nearly so as the huge throng which had earlier attended a special service in the Forum. From 11:30 to 2:30 a public funeral was held in the Forum with the populace invited to pay their respects. Morenz's body lay "in state over the ice surface that once echoed the ring of his flying skates."[37] Messages of sympathy arrived from all over the continent. They "were brief, sincere, indicative of the stunned grief of the writers' 'most popular player', most admired', 'idol of young Canada', 'greatest centreman in the history of the game'. Never in the history of our national game has such a glamour surrounded one of its players."[38]

The death of Morenz was to many as the death of a close friend. For twelve years with the Canadiens this favorite of the Montreal followers had provided many of them with unforgettable "wizardry". It was only recently, in a conversation with an eighty year old gentleman who was asked to name the best athlete he ever saw play that a notion of Morenz's hold on the public was re-inforced. The old gentleman's eyes brightened. Without hesitation, but with much conviction, he stated: "I saw Morenz play." It was estimated that some fifteen thousand people filed past the coffin at centre ice. While these remained for the service, a further twenty-five thousand waited silently outside the Forum.

> Strains of an organ rose over the muffled coughs as the time for the service commenced. In mid-arena stood the casket which contained the remains of the former personification of vitality. Flowers in an almost unbelievable profusion banked the coffin and stretched to either side almost to the boards . . . . Then ever so slowly from the dressing rooms they had so often left to play with or against Howie, filed the players of three hockey teams. First his own Canadiens, then Montreal Maroons and then the Maple Leafs. They took their places in chairs arranged on the ice surface, board covered for the day, and one wondered how two of those teams, gazing steadfastly toward the casket would feel as they skated over the spot a few hours later. Impressive in its simplicity was the solemn service of lowered voices that seemed to carry on a depth of tenderness as they sang 'Nearer My God To Thee' and 'Abide With Me'.
>
> The services over, Canadiens chosen as pallbearers, carried from the Forum the body of their comrade, carried it shoulder high, every bit as high as they might have borne him off the ice after a great victory in days gone by . . . . The way they carried him off seemed to signify a triumph over death. Their heads were lowered but they bore him high as if they realized that the old team spirit was still there.[39]

In a way, the love and respect shown for Morenz by his team-mates, opponents and followers, was indicative of the respect being given to the National Hockey League and, indeed, professional athletes. To many, the terms "professional" and "amateur" were simply indicative of the quality of play. Because of the proliferation of the many minor professional leagues, the calibre of amateur hockey was in a state of demise. This was reinforced nowhere more than the 1936 Olympics where the Canadian representatives lost their game with Britain and as a result, the gold medal and the world championship title. Perhaps because it was the English who defeated Canada with the help of Canadian born players, there wasn't as much of a furore as would accompany later losses in the fifties and sixties. Nonetheless, there was concern. It was suggested that amateur teams simply were not capable; "Only the best should represent Canadian hockey."[40]

The latter expression could easily be part of the post-war period in Canada but the fact that it was first uttered in the thirties was indicative of the hold that professional hockey had as well as the lack of confidence in the amateur. Canadian hockey had always been so far advanced over that of the European countries that almost any group of Canadians had been able to win against them. As early as 1910, European championships were held and while Canada did not have an official team, a group of Rhodes scholars studying at Oxford University, banded together to win the unofficial European title in 1910 and 1911.[41] When official Canadian teams were sent overseas, there was little difficulty in winning games and titles. Gradually, Canadian hockey started fragmenting organizationally into professional and minor-professional leagues leaving fewer and fewer good amateur players to send into the tournaments. In addition, the Canadian club team might be considerably weaker than when it won the right to represent the country since players might have been attracted to professional or other amateur teams by money or jobs or both. In the aftermath of the 1936 games, it was also noticed that

> hockey as played in overseas arenas has developed and improved so greatly that it is high time the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association took steps to protect the reputation of the game in Canada. That they can do by refusing permission for weak teams to tour England and Europe where they naturally will be regarded by the public as representatives of the best Canada has to offer.[42]

An example of the problems to be solved was illustrated by the case of the North Battleford Beavers. They had made a good showing against Sudbury in the Allan Cup finals of 1937 and, as a result, were offered, and accepted, an invitation to tour overseas at the beginning of the 1937-38 season. "Since then, the stars of the North Battleford team have listened to the call sounded in golden notes to travel to other thriving hockey centres, principally to northern Ontario."[43] Only a poor imitation of the original team remained. It seemed absurd to allow an unproven team, bearing the same name as the Canadian finalists, to represent Canada. Prior to 1936, there would have been little questioning of the trip but in light of the Olympic developments, the questioning was in order:

> It would be bad indeed for Canadian hockey prestige which started toward lower levels with the defeat of the Olympic outfit and has not been raised since.[44]

There was not yet the call to "send over the NHL" but there was already in existence the feeling that a higher level than the normal amateur should be sent. It was a "let's send our best" feeling and as various amateur teams were to lose to American and European competition, professional players were to assume even greater stature in terms of their skill level. Actually, there was little if any difference in the skill level of the top amateur teams and their professional counterparts during the years prior to the depression. The 1920 Winnipeg Falcons, Allan Cup winners were superb players and of such a high calibre in comparison with the Europeans that legends started to spring up about them. Mike Goodman, the reigning North American speed skating champion was also an outstanding hockey player. At the Antwerp games, he was "so fast and elusive that Europeans thought he had some secret power in his boots and skates. To discover that magic influence, they offered as high as one hundred dollars a pair for Mike's skates.[45] The Falcons won the tournament and have been since called "a strong team, one of the best ever developed in Canada."[46]

At the 1924 Winter Games in Chamonix, France, the Toronto Granites, the Allan Cup winners of 1924, represented Canada. Again, they were easy winners and described as "a great club, so great that even thirty or more years later the names and records of the players still bring happy recollections to thousands of hockey fans."[47] In 1928, the Varsity Grads, coached by Conny Smythe, represented Canada at St. Moritz, Switzerland, and won the world title with ease. To W.A. Hewitt, the year 1928 was the peak year of Canada's international hockey supremacy. In retrospect, his reasoning tied into the amateur-professional developments.

> The Falcons, Granites and Grads would have been great teams in any era, and they overwhelmed the nationals of all other countries. Then in the late 1920's, professional hockey became popular in the larger northern cities of the United States. Soon there were clubs in Boston, New York, Detroit, Chicago and Pittsburgh; and each of them had to be manned by Canadians. Thus the cream of Canada's hockey personnel was diverted to the United States and every amateur star who signed a National Hockey League certificate, reduced the potential strength of our Olympic material.[48]

By the 1932 games, held at Lake Placid, Canada's position was showing signs of erosion. It was only after three periods of overtime that her representatives were able to defeat the United States and win the Gold Medal. With the depression in progress, and the opportunities to play professional hockey, it was obvious that a formula had to be initiated whereby a player who did not succeed in his "pro" try-out could return to the amateur ranks. The formula would only serve to verify what was becoming an accepted fact: Professionalism was linked with high calibre expertise; amateur meant someone who wasn't good enough to make the professional ranks.

The proposal to re-instate players who failed in their professional try-outs was first introduced in the west. With a player who was professionalized being doomed to "a life of limbo" in sports, neither capable to play as a professional or eligible to play as an amateur, the western branch of the AAU of C proposed that re-instatement be automatic for those who were "unsuccessful in the monied ranks after two or three months trial."[49] At the annual meeting of the parent body, held in Winnipeg in 1933, the western proposal reached fruition. The AAU of C agreed that "Amateurs may receive a trial with professional teams without surrendering their amateur status providing an invitation from the team management has been issued."[50] As a further concession, it was agreed that a professional could be reinstated to the amateur ranks after remaining out of competition for three years. While it was still a harsh regulation, it did remove the "stigma of once a professional, always a professional."[51] Another noteworthy decision of the Winnipeg meeting was that amateurs and professionals were allowed to mix in soccer with no penalty, a move long awaited by soccer officials.

It is interesting to note that as the depression continued, the association between professionalism and money was not as arbitrary as before. Commercialism which had earlier been equated with professionalism seemed to be in the process of losing that identification by 1934. During that year, the Ontario Hockey Association allowed commercially sponsored teams into its senior series for the 1935 season.[52] In effect, it was simply a sanctioning of existing practises. Invariably as a team's season ended, recruiters would appear and attempt to convince the better players to move to another area and play their hockey there. As a further inducement, the player could be paid outright but without publicity or perhaps be given a "situation" with a firm. The company providing the job was not getting any recognition for its community effort since it was necessary to convince the amateur authorities that a person was given a job because of his qualifications as an employee. That he played hockey was held to be only incidental. In football, these civic minded firms were able to gain publicity for their actions. The Imperial Oil Company benefitted each time the Sarnia Imperials football team was mentioned. Even the sweaters of their football team carried the three stars, the name of Imperial's brand of gasoline. Football introduced commercial sponsorship with apparently little or no damaging effects. What's more, it assisted the Imperials in winning two Grey Cups.

All the fears which were once associated with professional sport were cited as a result of the OHA's decision: Teams would be sponsored by firms with overwhelming financial resources! How could a non-commercial team hope to compete with them? Would it be desirable to have such a team procede to the Allan Cup finals? Would the appropriations of players simply appear on the balance sheet under advertising costs? Would the awarding of a job to a hockey player simply be a guise to pay a player for his hockey ability? Yet, it appeared that these objections were being raised against an ideal no longer practised. Moneyless amateurism appeared to have fallen as a commonly held notion:

> Bona-fide amateur clubs, it must be admitted, have become all too few in number. But such as do remain will be labouring under an overburdening handicap henceforth. There are, we are told, two sides to every story and the above conditions may have been more than balanced by the other side of the Ontario amateur hockey tale. In the eyes of the OHA officials, it is this: There is reason to believe that the rules of amateurism are

> surreptitiously avoided by many of Ontario's hockey clubs in more ways than one and that personal gain is sought by club backers and that the players themselves are subsidized. Perhaps the OHA executive members have taken cognizance of these conditions and without trying to check them have decided that commercial hockey is preferable.[53]

The diminuation of the calibre of senior hockey, the growth of the professional variety and the Olympic losses were all related in having an effect on the developments within the CAHA. In the light of the Olympic loss and the problems associated with the Halifax Wolverines and their eventual substitution by the Port Arthur Bearcats for the 1936 games, four recommendations were passed unanimously by the CAHA. Payments were to be allowed by clubs or employers to compensate for time lost from work while playing games; players were also allowed to capitalize on their hockey prowess in order to gain employment. In an effort to seek better competition, professionals and amateurs were allowed to compete with one another at the discretion of the amateur branches. In another attempt to regain some of the talent that was not previously available, the CAHA allowed players who were categorized as professionals in one sport to compete as amateurs in hockey.[54]

It remained for a further step to be taken by the CAHA. It was recognized that the National Hockey League was the source of many young players' aspirations. If the CAHA wished to raise its standard of play, it was felt necessary to arrive at some sort of agreement with the NHL. In effect, a professional-amateur agreement was initiated in 1936. On the part of the NHL, it agreed to recognize all suspensions initiated by the CAHA, and to refrain from signing any junior player without first receiving the consent of the player's club. The NHL also agreed "that when an amateur player is to be signed or tried out by a professional club, notice must be given the Association not later than August 15 of the player's season. In return for these considerations, the CAHA agreed to play by National Hockey League Rules."[55] For all intents and purposes the CAHA and its constituent teams were operating as a "farm" system of the NHL.

For practical purposes, the agreement between the two bodies, one amateur and one professional, made for an amicable arrangement. There were minor disagreements which occasionally arose, one occurring in 1938 when Ed Finnigan, a suspended NHL player, was signed by an amateur team. After the initial accusations, denials and counter accusations, the controversy subsided. What was only suggested previously now became a concrete reality. A professional athlete was considered to be a highly skilled performer whereas the amateur was one who was not quite good enough to be a professional but, with practise, had possibilities. It was only natural in light of these developments, that the CAHA and the AAU of C were on a collison course. By mutual consent, it was agreed that as of February 15, 1937, the CAHA would terminate its agreement with the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada.[56]

The professional athletes at the turn of the century had been villified but it was during the thirties that the definite trend towards glorification became evident. To say when the turning point was specifically is difficult, if not impossible. However, it appears that the effect of the publicity previously mentioned, the resultant goodwill built up by the National Hockey League and the amateur problems all interacted and influenced each other so as to provide a climate of acceptability and later, invincibility. Evidence of this new acceptability surfaced early in 1937. When the sports editor of the Toronto Daily Star, Lou Marsh, died, it was decided to perpetuate his memory and name with a trophy honoring the best athlete in Canada on an annual basis. There were to be no restrictions as to whether he was to be an amateur or professional. He was simply adjudged to be the best for the year in question. The winner of the trophy in its first year was Canada's premier track athlete, Phil Edwards. While Edwards was an amateur, the point being made is that previously, there were no trophies that a professional athlete could win. A further indication of the acceptability was the announcement made in Georgetown, Ontario, that a seven team hockey league for players under fourteen, would start in 1937. Each of the seven teams were outfitted in the colors of the appropriate NHL team. As well, each of the players would have the number and name put on the back of the sweater corresponding to the NHL team's actual roster. The idea came from Winnipeg where it had been tried, successfully, two years previously. To initiate the "little NHL" season, Charlie Conacher dropped the puck for the official opening of the league's first triple-header.[57]

The Conacher Brothers, Lionel and Charlie, were themselves of such stature that they also contributed to the growth of professional acceptability. Charlie, the younger of the two, was a member of the Leafs' famous "kid line" of the thirties with Joe Primeau and Harvey "Busher" Jackson. The members of that line were popular for various reasons. They were good players; they learned their hockey in Toronto. Charlie Conacher had played with the Toronto Marlboros in their 1929 Memorial Cup season and hockey followers read how Lionel, already an established star, negotiated on Charlie's behalf with Smythe and the Leafs. In typical flamboyant fashion the younger Conacher celebrated his two year contract calling for $20,000 and a $5,000 advance:

> . . . he bought a flashy yellow Buick coupe with a rumble seat, loaded all the Conachers aboard and conducted them on a driving tour, ending in a magnificent picnic.[58]

The trio, christened the "kid line" by Lou Marsh in 1929, seemed to improve with each game.

> They were instant celebrities attracting thousands of new fans to home and away games (fans drawn in by the splash of ads that proclaimed them "Hockey's Fastest Scoring Line), they racked up fabulous feats of scoring and they lit up hockey arenas with fresh elan and vitality in their play.[59]

Conacher's style of play was a physical one and for that reason, he suffered more than the normal assortment of injuries which eventually forced him into an early retirement. It was also that style which endeared him to Leaf followers. As a result, commencing in 1936, the Globe and Mail included a column written by Charlie Conacher. Appearing in the sport pages, the column offered a variety of information, perspectives and gossip. Of the latter variety, for example, he wrote baitingly that "Syl Apps played one game for Dominion Breweries last winter but someone at McMaster University figured that to be a strange hook-up for a student of a prominent college so Apps quietly did a fade-out, confining his puck (I almost said buck) chasing to Percy Thompson's Tigers in the senior series."[60] Apps of course had competed as a pole vaulter for Canada in the recently completed Berlin Olympics and it appeared that Conacher was making aspersions on the Leaf's former amateur status.

Subsequent Conacher columns dealt with a variety of topics. While many were of a general nature, he took the opportunity to write with a point of view. He wrote of how an athlete came to play in the NHL, describing the scouting system, the training camps, minor professional leagues and their relationship to the "big leagues", the roster size as well as the various reserve lists available to each team. In the process, he was helping to shape the public's impression of professionalism and the "pro". He explained the benefits of the "pro-am" agreement. Once a junior prospect was "discovered", he would be

> . . . induced, when he graduates from the age limit series, to sign with a senior amateur team which is in charge of an exceptionally good coach. In that way, the prospect is sure of proper tuition and he is likely to develop more quickly. When the prospect is considered ready for professional ranks, he is offered a contract and he usually accepts as the majority of amateurs have the ambition to become professional stars. The next step may be one of two things: If he is exceptionally good, he will be given a trial in the National League. If he isn't, the team signing him will send him to the International American league farm team for further seasoning and that way many of the National League stars are brought along. But all of them don't go through the same systematic process. Some of them are signed in a hurry and are given a chance to make good or not according to whether they can produce the goods. Other amateurs are signed by other minor league professional clubs and later their contracts are sold to the NHL.[61]

As a further means of encouraging clubs to seek out the best talent, each NHL club was allowed a reserve list containing a specified and limited number of prospects who could be protected as a club's preserve. "When a player is on a club's reserve list, club management notifies league headquarters and no other club can negotiate with him."[62]

Conacher was also able to use his column as a means of suggesting improvements to the league. In effect, it allowed him to sample public opinion, as well as to shape it. Not all of his ideas were well received but at least the professional player had a forum through which he could expound his ideas. When Conacher suggested that the NHL should reward its leading scorer with a trophy and a bonus,[63] one reaction was that the "NHL players were deucedly well paid for what striving they do."[64] In defending his idea, which was subsequently adopted, Conacher gave some insights into the problems of the professional athlete:

> I would like to point out that the professional hockey player gives the best years of his life to a sport in which his job is thrilling the public. When he's through hockey, he has to step into the business world to make a late start in creating a place for himself. He may have had ten years in hockey. If he had put the same effort into business, his lifetime job by that time might have been a good one. Besides, it is an accepted fact that players bring in the money into the box offices. Leading goal scorers provide the crowd appeal that makes it possible for club owners to build their million dollar arenas. There's a lot of difference between a million dollar arena and the $7,000 salary limit which goes to only a very few of the players. People are pensioned after years of

> service in the business world. The Hockey player doesn't want a pension but he should be entitled to something extra for reaching the top of his sports profession while he's still in it. The suggested prize isn't an amount which would make a great deal of difference to the National League funds. It would be something for the individual player to shoot at. The proposed trophy would also be something prized by every man who won it.[65]

It was only a short time after writing this article that Conacher suddenly retired. It's possible that pressure was brought to bear upon him for his criticism, mild as it was, of the National League. The official reason for his retirement was given as advice given to him by doctors. The retirement took place during the 1936-37 season and lasted only one year at the end of which he was traded from Toronto to Detroit. Subsequently, he played with the New York Americans and coached for three seasons with the Chicago Black Hawks. He died in 1967, six years after his election to the Hockey Hall of Fame.

If Charlie Conacher had an influence on the acceptance of the professional athlete, his older brother, Lionel, assisted in the consolidation of its approval. As outstanding an athlete as Charlie Conacher was, Lionel was even more so. Selected as Canada's "Outstanding Athlete of the Half-Century", he excelled in almost every sport that he played. Nationally known in 1921 as a result of his teaming up with "Red" Batstone to help the Toronto Argonauts defeat the Edmonton Eskimos and win the Grey Cup, Conacher's "185 pounds and six feet one inch were the focal point of spectators in every city of the Big Four and the headline topic of every newspaper reporter in Eastern Canada."[66] Known as the "Big Train", he learned to skate at the age of sixteen, late in comparison with most youth. He was still able to become such a good hockey player that Leo Dandurand of the Canadiens offered Conacher $5,000 in 1922 to play for the Montreal team. Conacher, anxious to remain an amateur so as to play rugby and baseball, refused the offer.

> (It) was then a phenomenal offer to bolster gate receipts and attract to the hockey arena, Conacher's thousands of admirers -- certainly a tribute to a great sporting personality . . . . The incident started many a tongue to wag. If an amateur could turn down offers like that what a fortune there must be in amateur sport, was the implication of their remarks.[67]

In answer to this sort of innuendo, Conacher decided to play intermediate hockey rather than the more publicized and glamorous senior variety. He wanted to show that he wasn't bound to any obligation to play for anybody.

Conacher's exploits read like excerpts from a Frank Merriwell novel. During one Saturday in the late summer of 1922, his baseball and lacrosse teams were involved in championship games. In the last inning of the baseball game, his club, the Hillcrests, were trailing by two runs. Conacher came to bat with the bases loaded and promptly hit a triple to win the game and the title for his team. By means of a taxicab, he raced to Scarboro Beach where Brampton was leading Conacher's team, the Maitlands, by a 3 - 0 score. "He jumped into a lacrosse outfit, scored four goals himself and assisted on the scoring of a fifth to settle another title dispute the same afternoon."[68] It was almost a re-creation of a similar situation in 1921. Two different sports were involved at that time as well and the results were, again, the same. After helping the Argonauts in their victory over Edmonton, Conacher "starred in Aura Lee's defeat of Granites for the Sportsman's Athletic Association Hockey trophy."[69]

His athletic ability was such that he seemed to be a success in everything he tried. In 1920, he was the light-heavyweight boxing champion of Canada and as such, fought an exhibition match with Jack Dempsey in 1921. During 1926, he played as a member of the Toronto Maple Leafs' baseball team, winners of the International League championship as well as the Little World Series. The extent of his baseball ability was such that "prominent American sports writers compared Conacher to Frisch and Sisler, two of the greatest diamond men of all time."[70] When he announced his intention of taking up the game of soccer, it became "news on every sporting page in Toronto and soccer clubs sought his services although he had never played the game before in his life."[71] As previously mentioned Conacher played in the professional Box Lacrosse League formed in 1931. He was the leading scorer in that year, gathering a total of one hundred and seven points to lead his nearest competitor by forty-six. As well as being the prime mover behind the first outright professional football team in Canada, he also embarked on a professional wrestling career in 1933. A Maclean's article of 1933 offered this apt comment regarding his career: "To win distinction in two sports is unusual; this extraordinary athlete has won national prominence in no less than six."[72]

Conacher had a certain charisma about him. From a relatively financially poor background, his meteoric rise as a national hero seemed to typify the manifestation of a young boy's hopes. In a period of our history when dreams were commonplace, Conacher was the substance of dreams. He stated that he had

> a soul-consuming desire . . . above all else to emulate the great Frank Merriwell of fiction and longed in every bit of me to achieve that state of physical prowess where I could rise upon demand to great heights.[73]

Because of the heavy amount of publicity and the resultant glamor associated with the professional athlete in the thirties, there was a tendency towards his glorification. Perhaps the myth of invincibility had not yet been adopted in a wholesale fashion but from the viewpoint of the unemployed and the struggling, the "big time" was the epitome of desire. The public, accustomed to reading of these sports figures in the newspapers and listening to their virtues being extolled on the radio, identified only with the end product. Seldom mentioned was the work involved in becoming a "star". Rarely was it mentioned what the athlete had to go through in order to develop and maintain his superior talent. Perhaps as a means of restoring some semblance of balance, or at least to give some indication of the "price" one had to pay in order to become and remain a professional athlete, Maclean's published an article by Lionel Conacher[74] in which he itemized the personal sacrifices that he had to make in order to attain his "glamorous" position in Canadian sport. As an introduction, he stated:

> For twenty-three years, I've trekked along sport's brightest fairways and constantly I come in contact with sports fans who associate the life of a professional athlete with that of a certain easy-going lad named Riley.
> I am aware that it is good business to claim the customer is always right, but in this case, it would be grossly unfair to the fabulous Mr. Riley's reputation.

After acknowledging the fact that the athlete's sacrifices are sometimes overlooked "when he is exposed to the glamor created by roaring crowds, breezy headlines and over-enthusiastic bally-hoo", Conacher proceeded to disagree with the "customer". He enumerated an inventory of physical injuries suffered in his sport career:

> Nose broken eight times; leg and arm broken; several broken bones in hands; ten cracked ribs; a skate gash across the throat near my jugular which almost dropped the curtain on me and required sixteen stitches to pull together. Another skate gash near my mastoid which again had me a matter of inches away from eternity. A four square inch slash of a razor edged skate on the thigh, which resulted in gangrene and a red-hot bout with the Grim Reaper. Two smashed knee cartilages which resulted in surgical operations. A total of more than five hundred stitches in my face and head, another one hundred and fifty or so in the rest of my gnarled anatomy. On four occasions there were ten or more inserted in a single session. Then, of course, there were the innumerable routine injuries, classified "minor" which include sundry sprains, pulled ligaments, twisted muscles, black eyes, bumps, aches, bruises, etc.

While expounding on the "cost", Conacher also explained in the process why his appearance could not "be classified as aristocratic." He said that while the publicists inferred that this was an "asset, because it is the glorified animal that thrill hungry, take-my-exercise-sitting-down fandom flock to see, and not the rose cheeked Adonis with the stream-lined shoulders," the "Big Train" stated, knowingly, "well, maybe, but this type of asset leaves plenty to be desired."

Once the athlete reaches the top in his field, many spectators become aware of the fluidity and ease of his movement. His actions are economized and all seems so easy. The impression is given that the athlete is naturally endowed, his ease of movement an accident of birth. To this implication that athletes are "gifted creatures whose talents eliminate the necessity of any monotonous training routine", Conacher assured all that hard work, will power and perseverance was necessary.

> There is where the cost element can be seen more clearly. You who-go through life at an easy saunter cannot realize what it costs to force the old will power to make the old boy say "uncle" when said body is howling for an easy chair, unrestricted diet and the odd gay party instead of constantly wincing under the lash of the Big Time's training rules.

To emphasize the importance of will power, Conacher explained how, in 1930, he found himself an "unwanted veteran" with the Montreal Maroons who were attempting, unsuccessfully, to waive him out of the League. He decided that the reason his play had fallen off was his excessive drinking, that if he wanted to continue playing in the NHL, he would have to stop. Calling upon his will power, he did stop. He credited the move as being responsible for his being named the most valuable member of the Maroons for the 1931-32 season as well as being with two successive Stanley Cup teams, Chicago and Montreal Maroons. To further dispel the "idea that when you reach the Big Time, all is clover", other occupational demands were noted: Eating had to be controlled, Conacher himself having only one meal per day and that was rigidly controlled.

> Hockey fans can go home and drift off to sleep after a game. Seldom will a player's pent up nerves allow him to think of sleep until well on to three o'clock in the morning. Cuts, burns and sore spots have a habit of appearing when relaxation is due; they pass unnoticed in the heat of the game but pop up when you begin to "cool off".

Far from having a carefree life, the athlete had many different worries, depending on the situation. A player with a losing team is constantly wondering "where the axe will fall next." The player in a slump fears that "he is beginning to slip. The chances are that in his anxiety to snap out of it, he over reaches and gets worse. All that mental unrest does not contribute to a serene life." While many sports enthusiasts looked upon the travelling that athletes did, going from one city to another, as an enjoyable experience, Conacher also pointed out problems in that area. Many of the journeys were twelve hours long and "a few rugged, bumping, bruising hockey games with those train rides before and after" made it even more difficult to perform well. In addition to the hard work and frustrations involved in being a top calibre athlete, there was always the risk of dealing with "people who seek glory by downing athletes with such reputations." Conacher related how in Belleville, in 1922, "a colossal man came moving from the stands to 'tear me to bits'. He went to the hospital and I had to leave town on the q.t. Belleville never forgot that lacrosse game, and there is still a warrant for my arrest to be served if I ever set foot in that fair city."

By his own admission, Conacher's years in sport were filled with thrills "but they were also filled with gruelling work, aching muscles and lungs strained to the breaking point." As to the inevitable retirement of the athlete from active participation,

> . . . I know the time is coming when I will have to quit sports. Yet, I cannot picture it, do not want to picture it, because there constantly lurks in my mind a dread that I've reached the point where I'll be unable to repeat the things I've done in the past.
>
> Has it been worthwhile?
>
> I answer that question simply by stating that if I had to do it all over again, there would be no alteration to the course I've set. It cost me plenty to become a tough athlete, but I've reaped plenty of dividends in thrills, happiness and financial security. A career in the Big Time is worthwhile because to make a success of it you must build your body, think clearly and lead a regular life. That twenty-three year trek has provided no "life of Riley" but it has taught me the secret of enjoying life -- and what more could anyone ask, no matter what the cost?

Like all things, Conacher's distinguished career came to an end. Just one short month after the death of Howie Morenz, Montreal was told of the retirement of its second "glamorous" figure. His appeal had always been such that when he was leaving a team or an area, he was usually recognized in some way. In 1923, when leaving

Toronto for Belafonte Academy in Pennsylvania, the Mayor of Toronto presented him with a special Club Bag from the city and the Hillcrest Baseball Club honored him with a beautiful floral horseshoe which was draped around his neck. Conacher had that type of appeal. Thus, in 1937, as the world was moving from depression to war, amid rumors of racial injustices in Germany, shortly after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and the resultant lack of action from the League of Nations, in short, in the midst of troubled time, Lionel Conacher announced his retirement from hockey. The accolades given him were, of course, out of context with the international situation; nonetheless they were indicative of the respect held for Conacher. They also serve to illustrate the relationship of the professional athlete to society and the corresponding demise of the amateur.

Writing in the Montreal Herald, Elmer Ferguson remarked that a man of Conacher's stature "could not and should not depart from sport."[75] He suggested that Conacher be designated a "sports ambassador, governor or supervisor or leader."[76] In remarking that Conacher could play an even greater role in sports after his retirement from competition, Ferguson reasoned that

> It would be a fine constructive move by those interested in the future of physical welfare of Canadian youth to see that a position is created where the glamour of Conacher should be turned to good account

> for young athletic Canada. Today with the well meaning but completely impractical theorist, men of no athletic background or accomplishment, seeking to lead, regulate and advise amateur athletics in the Dominion are getting nowhere. They are steadily retrograding.[77]

Ferguson's comments and suggestion serve to illustrate the hegemony of the professional in the Canadian athletic scene. It illustrated a reversal of former attitudes. In the world of the depression the accent was on results. Theorists were not highly regarded. Solutions were needed. The AAU of C was filled with well-meaning men but steeped in a concept out of step with the times. As a body, it was steadily losing ground. The Union was accused of being "extravagently inconsistent"[78] in its policies, allowing "mixed competition" in some sports but not others, re-instatement of professionals and tryouts by amateurs with professional teams. The public was frequently witness to members of the AAU of C executive, who were also members of other amateur sport governing bodies, challenging the authority of the parent body. The situation was such that, in 1934, it was written that "unless some of the barnacles are removed, the prophecy that the amateur ship will be completely wrecked within three years seems likely to become a vivid reality."[79]

The comments by Ferguson offer some evidence that the "ship of professionalism" was now at the head of the Canadian "rivers of sport". He offered this thought on the situation:

> Youth isn't inclined to listen to the theorist and the lawmaker if those happen to be minus any personal colour or appeal. But if advice or leadership comes from a great athletic figure, it would be a different story. It would furnish inspiration and encouragement to the youngsters, turn their resentment against the chafing and narrowness of the times into willingness. More than that, Conacher would bring to such a position of Dominion or provincial leadership, a complete and practical knowledge of the requirement of the times, the practical knowledge which our well-meaning leaders of to-day lack in their mildewed and obsolete ideas of regulation.[80]

Ferguson's endorsement of Conacher and by implication, professional sport, was in concert with movement throughout the world. In England, "by long odds, the most significant piece of aquatic news in many years"[81] was announced. For the first time in its history, the Royal Henley Regatta was to allow, in 1938, mechanics, artisans and labourers to compete, thus removing the "old bigoted and unfair definition of amateur which (had) governed the Royal Henley for fifty-five years."[82] By the removal of the old class distinctions, it was stated that the "historic diamond skulls race (would) become one which anyone with the ability to do so may win."[83] In the United States, baseball and football were burgeoning sports, each attracting an ever increasing number of spectators. In Canada, the interest in sport was at such a peak that the Globe and Mail published the following notice on its sport pages:

> Requests for results of sports events have become so numerous of late as to disrupt the operation of the sports department. Such queries have monopolized the sports telephones to the detriment of calls in connection with routine calls of the department. Accordingly, the Globe and Mail regrets that it will be necessary to discontinue the practise of giving sports information over the telephone. Readers are asked to co-operate by not asking for it.[84]

Perhaps the increased interest in sport could be explained by the new wirephoto service inaugurated by the newspaper in 1938. It allowed for simultaneous pictures to be published with a story emanating from other than a local source.[85] Another possible explanation was that people simply could not afford to buy a newspaper. Commencing in 1938 prices were announced as three cents per issue, eighteen cents per week and seventy-five cents per month.[86]

In the midst of all of the interest in sport, the National Hockey League as the "Big Time" had an unmistakable appeal. To youngsters it was a source of inspiration. When glowing accounts were published extolling the play of the "pros", the appeal was heightened. It is easy to imagine the impact that the announcement, in the Globe and Mail, that the newspaper was planning to honor the sixteen year Canadien veteran, Aurel Joliat, on the occasion of his last appearance in Toronto. Joliat was a source of pride to Montreal followers as well as hockey spectators throughout the league. Wilson MacDonald has written a poem[87] which captures not only Joliat's appeal but the place of hockey and the rivalry which existed between the Canadiens and the Maroons:

Monsieur Joliat

Boston she have good hockey team;
Dose Senators ees nice.
But Les Canadiens ees bes'
Dat ever skate de ice.

Morenz he go lak' one beeg storm;
Syl Mantha's strong and fat.
Dere all ver' good but none ees quite
So good as Joliat.

I know heem well; he ees ma frien';
I doan know heem himsel';
But I know man dat know a man
Who know heem very well.

Enfant! Dat Joliat ees full
of hevery kind of treek.
He talk heem hockey all de day
And sleep heem wit' hees stick.

He's small but he ees bothersome
Lak' ceender in de eye.
Maroons all yell: "Go get som' 'Flit'
And keel dat leetle fly."

Garcon! he's slippery; oui, oui --
Lak' leetle piece of soap.
I tink nex' time I watch dat boy
I use a telescope.

He's good on poke-heem-check, he is:
He's better on attack.
He run against beeg Conacher
And trow heem on hees back.

He weegle jus' lak' fish-worm do
Wen eet ees on a hook;
An' wen he pass de beeg defence
Dey have one seely look.

He weigh one hondred feefty pound.
Eef he were seex feet tall
He'd score one hondred goal so queek
Dere'd be no game at all.

When I am tire of travais-trot
I put on coat of coon
And go to see Canadiens
Mak' meence-meat of Maroon.

When Joliat skate out I yell
Unteel I have a pain.
I trow my hat up in de air
And shout, "Hurrah", again.

"Shut up, Pea Soup," an Englishman
Sarcastic say to me;
So I turn round to heem and yell:
"Shut up you Cup of Tea."

Dat was a ver' exciting game:
De score eet was a tie;
An'den dat leetle Joliat
Get hanger een hees eye.

He tak' de puck at odder goal
An' skat heem down so fas'
De rest of players seem asleep
As he was going pas'.

He was so queek he mak' dem look
Jus lak' a lot of clown.
An' wen he shoot de wind from her
Eet knock de hompire down.

Dat was de winning goal. Hurrah;
De game she come to end.
I yell: "Bravo for Joliat;
You hear: he ees ma friend."

De Henglishman he say: "Pardon,"
An' he tak' off hees hat:
De Breetish Hempire steel ees safe
Wen men can shoot lak' dat."

An' den he say, "Bravo," as hard
As Henglishman can whoop:
"I tink to-night I'll change from tea
To bally ole pea-soup."

The Globe and Mail, which was billed as the National

Newspaper presented Joliat with a trophy in recognition of his play over the years. The presentation was made by the recently retired Charlie Conacher "on behalf of all fans everywhere."[88] The likable Canadien received an ovation from the more than thirteen thousand spectators in attendance. Minutes after the presentation, Joliat scored a goal and set off an even louder and more appreciative display by the throng, all of which added to the heroic characteristics being promoted in the newspaper.

In addition to the unquestionable acceptability of the professional athlete, it appeared that the desired concomitant of integrity was also conceded. When the National Hockey League governors indicated that they wanted to do away with unlimited overtime during play-off games, there was some debate as to whether that action would affect the League's credibility. In the past, there had been decisive games in the semi-final series which, having gone into extended overtime, left the winning team tired and weakened for the Stanley Cup final. There had been other years when the move to abolish unlimited overtime in the play-offs had been proposed but they had always been rejected, mostly at the insistence of President Frank Calder. His fear was that "tie games in play-offs would cause the finger of public suspicion to start pointing."[89] To which sports editor, Tommy Munns replied:

> I believe that the day when the fans were suspicious of professional hockey has passed. Calder's objection, sincere, and at one time, valid, no longer can be upheld."[90]

As if to support the assertion, coverage of the Toronto-Boston semi-final series in which the Leafs won in three straight games, included the report that Calder was heard muttering that if only the Leafs and Bruins had played two more games, an additional $40,000 would have been earned. That they did not was offered as just "another proof of the complete honesty of professional hockey."[91]

There were other sources as well which verified that the acceptance of the professional was widespread and that insinuations of "contamination" were receding. Reporting on the 1938 Ontario Baseball Amateur Association meetings held in Niagara Falls, the Chesley Enterprise, "a newspaper which carries the views of the comparatively smaller centres considered individually but very important communities when regarded collectively,"[92] agreed with the baseball body's decision to allow professionals in one sport to play as amateurs in baseball. It stated: "The pro bogey has been pretty much been thrown overboard. The professional athlete now is regarded as a gentleman and a fine sportsman."[93] In itself, this was recognition of the situation as it existed. The concept of the "dirty" professional was being removed as was the notion that high skill in one sport meant an unfair advantage in another. In effect, it was being recognized that "many athletes had brilliant futures ahead of them on the professional fields. There are many hockey players who are idle every summer and while they are experts at hockey and are paid out in the open, they are only fair ball players and it seems an injustice to keep them out of another sport."[94] Softball, too, amended its regulations so as to allow for the mixing of professionals with amateur players thus joining the other sports of baseball, lacrosse, golf, soccer and cricket. The eventual outcome was that many of the professional sports were to insert a clause in their Standard Player's Contract prohibiting the athlete from playing in another sport without first receiving the permission of his club. This policy, which manifested itself in the post-war period, was initiated more as a means of protecting the Club's "investment" from injury.

As if to underscore the differences in skill level between the amateurs and professional at the international and local level, the NHL sent the Montreal Canadiens and Detroit Red Wings to England to play a series of exhibition games. While there was some talk of expansion into the hockey market of England, the demonstration was really a reaction to Canada's 1936 Olympic loss to Great Britain. The response of sending the NHL so as to illustrate that Canada was not able to send its best players was to be a more common recommendation during the post-war era. At the local level, there was much enthusiasm at the new St. Catharines Arena when, at its official opening, 3,700 followers "moved in to watch the Toronto Maple Leafs play three Senior OHA teams one period each. The teams represented St. Catharines, Niagara Falls and Port Colborne."[95] It was the first occasion for a NHL team in St. Catharines. The spectators left the game, their conceptions confirmed as the Leafs defeated the combined team 9 - 2.

The year 1938 started with much news of the professional athlete and was to end the same way. At the beginning of the year, Syl Apps "was named Canada's Outstanding Athlete in a nation-wide poll, the first time in history a hockey player had ever been so honored."[96] At the end of the year, it was announced that the Lou Marsh Trophy was won, it too for the first time, by a professional athlete, rower Bob Pierce. The former Australian had settled in Canada during the thirties and was the rowing champion of the world. His selection illustrated the public assent toward the professional athlete. Asked to comment on the choice, Lionel Conacher, by now a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, replied that he was glad a professional athlete had won the award since "it showed that professionals could be just as sportsmanlike as any simon pure athlete."[97]

FOOTNOTES TO PART THREE, I

[1] A derisive term given to hobo camps during the depression named after Prime Minister Bennett who was a millionaire.

[2] Toronto Globe, N.D., 1933.

[3] Ibid., January 30, 1934.

[4] Toronto Globe, March 6, 1933.

[5] Ibid., January 20, 1934.

[6] Ibid., June 29, 1934.

[7] Montreal Herald, February 15, 1934.

[8] Toronto Globe, April 22, 1935.

[9] Ibid., May 2, 1935.

[10] Toronto Globe, June 17, 1929.

[11] Manitoba Free Press, December 2, 1929.

[12] Toronto Globe, October 12, 1933.

[13] All information regarding the Winnipeg team is taken from an interview with Joe Ryan in Edmonton on April 1, 1968. Further information about this period can be found in more detail in F. Cosentino, Canadian Football: The Grey Cup Years. Toronto: The Musson Book Company, 1969.

[14] Manitoba Free Press, November 9, 1932.

[15] Toronto Globe, December 26, 1935.

[16] Ryan, op. cit.

[17] F. Selke, Behind The Cheering. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964, p. 127.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Jack Batten, Hockey Dynasty. Toronto: Pagurian Press, 1969, p. 81.

[22] Ibid., p. 82.

[23] Toronto Globe, March 19, 1934.

[24] Ibid.

[25] B. McFarlane, op. cit., p. 58.

[26] Ibid.

[27] J. Batten, op. cit., p. 84.

[28] Ibid., p. 82.

[29] Toronto Globe, January 21, 1936.

[30] Ibid., January 22, 1936.

[31] Ibid., January 24, 1936.

[32] Ibid., January 25, 1936.

[33] Trent Frayne, It's Easy All You Have To Do Is Win. Toronto: Longmans Canada Ltd., 1968, p. 11.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., p. 21.

[37] Toronto Globe and Mail, March 10, 1937.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., March 12, 1937.

[40] Toronto Globe and Mail, June 15, 1937.

[41] Edmonton Bulletin, January 26, 1912.

[42] Toronto Globe and Mail, June 15, 1937.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] W.A. Hewitt, Down The Stretch. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1958, p. 195.

[46] Ibid., p. 194.

[47] Ibid., p. 196.

[48] Ibid., p. 204.

[49] Toronto Globe, April 7, 1933.

[50] Toronto Globe, November 20, 1933.

[51] Keith Lansley, "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of Alberta, Fall, 1971, p. 215.

[52] Toronto Globe, February 15, 1934.

[53] Toronto Globe, February 15, 1934.

[54] Ibid., May 23, 1936.

[55] Ibid., May 25, 1936.

[56] Toronto Globe, December 12, 1936.

[57] Toronto Globe and Mail, January 14, 1937.

[58] Jack Batten, op. cit., p. 54.

[59] Ibid., p. 57.

[60] Toronto Globe, November 19, 1936.

[61] Toronto Globe and Mail, January 8, 1937.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Toronto Globe and Mail, February 13, 1937.

[64] Ibid., February 17, 1937.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Harry Shore, "Conacher The Versatile", Maclean's, September 1, 1932, p. 14.

[67] Ibid., p. 34.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid., p. 14, 34.

[73] Lionel Conacher, "You've Got To Be Tough", Maclean's, September 1, 1936, p. 14.

[74] Ibid., pp. 14, 45, 46. All quotations used in this section following are from this article unless otherwise specified.

[75] Montreal Herald, cited in the Toronto Globe and Mail, April 8, 1937.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] H.H. Roxborough, "Shamateurism", Maclean's, February, 1934, p. 32.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Montreal Herald, cited in the Toronto Globe and Mail, April 8, 1937.

[81] Toronto Globe and Mail, June 12, 1937.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Toronto Globe and Mail, January 29, 1938.

[85] Ibid., January 24, 1938.

[86] Ibid., December 28, 1937.

[87] Wilson MacDonald, Quintaines of Calendar.

[88] Toronto Globe and Mail, March 12, 1938.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Toronto Globe and Mail, March 31, 1938.

[92] Ibid., April 2, 1938.

[93] Chesley Enterprise, cited in Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Toronto Globe and Mail, December 21, 1938.

[96] Brian McFarlane, The Lively World of Hockey. Toronto: Pagurian Press, 1967, p. 65.

[97] Toronto Globe and Mail, January 16, 1939.

II

THE WAR YEARS, 1939-45

It was early in 1939 that the association of the professional athlete with good citizenship became more pronounced. Newspapers and the radio seemed intent on publicizing any and every virtue of the "pro", real or imagined. During a National Hockey League game, Red Horner of the Toronto Maple Leafs went to the assistance of the injured referee Mickey Ion. It was pointed out that

> Horner has probably been shooed to the penalty boxes by referee Ion more often than any other player. Red has probably engaged in as many arguments with Ion as any other player. Yet the big red-head was as concerned over Mickey's injury as if it had been a team-mate. Who said chivalry was dead in pro hockey?[1]

There was a certain amount of flamboyance associated with the NHL. When Mel Hill scored three overtime goals in three games to help Boston defeat the New York Rangers, he was immediately known as "Sudden Death" Hill.[2] The Bruins also had one of the most potent scoring lines in hockey. Milt Schmidt, Bobby Bauer and Woody Dumart "earned the name the 'Kraut Line' because of their Germanic background in Kitchener, Ontario. During the Second World War, the name would be changed to the 'Kitchener Kids' because things German were not too popular."[3] In Toronto, former Olympic athlete, Syl Apps, was popular with the Maple Leaf followers. It seemed important that they should know that the young hockey player was enjoying his career in the "Big Time". To the question of whether the "'greyhound on skates' gets a kick out of playing professional hockey," Apps replied:

> To me this question can bring forth but one answer and that but one word, absolutely. To be as closely connected to this great game has always been thrilling to me and I cannot conceive of a time when this will not be true. I've always looked forward to each game with enthusiasm. As long as I can feel this way toward hockey I can truthfully say I do get a great kick out of playing.[4]

Apps had won the Calder Trophy in his first year, 1936-37, and "became one of the most popular and brilliant players ever to chase a puck."[5] It was mentioned that Apps did not get "any more kick out of the game than the thousands of fans in Toronto and around the rest of the National League circuit who are beginning to appreciate your amazing puck-chasing talents more and more each time you step on the ice."[6]

Publicity had been an accepted style of operation with the Toronto Maple Leafs by 1939. To ensure that hockey would not be forgotten during the "off-season", the club initiated a monthly news sheet. Called the Gardens Midsummer News and written by Frank Selke and Conny Smythe, it served to illustrate the hold that hockey had on the

Toronto public. More than that, it served as press release material for every newspaper to which it was sent, thus ensuring hockey news in the summer sport pages. It should be noted that this information was always favorable to the Maple Leafs, the National Hockey League and the professional athlete. For example, when the Toronto Maple Leafs traded Harvey "Busher" Jackson to the New York Americans, the June issue of the News carried a tribute to Jackson by Conny Smythe:

> It's a tough thing for a player to have played in his home town for ten years, to have always given his best and to have done well and be traded away. On the other hand, our players have enough sense to know that they are like actors and showmen and if they stay in one place too long, they outwear their welcome. It is a great tribute to a hockey player that he can play for ten years winter and winter and be as popular as Harvey Jackson is. We wonder if any of the famous Hollywood stars could walk into Toronto, put on a performance every week, each winter and still command the respect that Busher does with our fans.[7]

In the midst of the flurry of promotional material, the nations of the world were moving inevitably towards war. To be sure, there had been warnings of the impending conflict. The League of Nations was unable to deal with Japanese, Italian and German transgressions. While anxious Canadians read newspaper accounts of the new Russia-Germany non-aggression pact, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced his intention to use the War Measures Act. On the same day "that King cabled his personal appeal to Hitler, Mussolini and the President of Poland,"[8] Lionel Conacher, as Vice-Chairman of the Ontario Athletic Commission, issued an invitation to Conny Smythe and the Toronto Maple Leafs to use the "commission's fully appointed athletic camp on Lake Couchiching for physical exercises"[9] prior to their 1939-40 hockey season opening. It was pointed out that the "Maple Leafs actually contribute each year more to the maintenance and improvement of amateur athletic undertakings in Ontario than any other organization."[10] The reference was being made to the percentage of each game's gate receipts which was directed to the Commission to be used for the operation of the Lake Couchiching grounds. It was because of this contribution that Conacher extended the invitation, one which was even more popular by virtue of the newspaper support the idea had received. Unquestionably, professional sport was being promoted as a worthy endeavor, one which was much higher in status than the amateur variety. Equally accepted, with the mantle of acceptability, was the aura of invincibility.

Yet the promotion of the notion of the superiority of the professional athlete was quickly forgotten in the early weeks of September, 1939. In the west,

> the grim business now going on in Poland
> has dulled Winnipeg's usually ravenous

> appetite for football. If there is any wagering, your observer hasn't run across it. The citizens are too busy listening to radios and loudspeakers for bulletins.[11]

The Canadian Parliament, after three days of deliberation and debate, declared itself at war with Germany and her allies. "The proclamation was approved and dispatched by mid-night. It reached Buckingham Palace in the early morning and Canada was officially at war on Sunday, September 10."[12]

> The professional hockey aspirations of many young athletes were frozen as solidly as the ice on which they played. For a few months and particularly during the first winter, there was confusion. No one seemed to have the right answers, although there were many academic discussions regarding how long the shooting would last, what would be the extent of Canada's contribution, whether or not there would be compulsory enlistment.[13]

Immediately, the Sportsman's Patriotic Association declared that they would carry on, as they did in the first war, providing a "wartime sports program for the military and civilian units and to assist in supplying athletic equipment at home and abroad for soldier-athletes."[14] The Canadian Amateur Hockey Association also announced that its hockey schedule as well as Memorial and Allan Cup play-downs would continue "in order to maintain the morale and spirit during wartime."[15] In addition, war-time regulations were drawn up by the hockey body. The residence rule was suspended for all players engaged in military service; a player could play for more than one team during a season if he were moved by military authorities; military units could also enter a team into the Allan Cup competition. The CAHA also declared that "any professional player who goes on military service shall, with the consent of the National Hockey League, be allowed to play with or against amateur hockey players."[16]

The war seemed far away from the shores of Canada. After the initial proclamation, the hostilities seemed to fade into the background. The six month lull which followed was to become known as the "Phony War" period. Even so, the danger of the war provided the Toronto Maple Leafs with the opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism and in the process, be exposed to the glare of more publicity.

Early radio has been described as "a pervading and somewhat god-like presence"[17] which came into people's homes. It continued to be a major influence in nurturing while sustaining the growth of hockey. Prior to the opening of the 1939-40 season, Foster Hewitt, "Canada's hockey voice, drew fans from Halifax to Vancouver to the scene of yesterday's Leaf luncheon when he introduced the 1939-40 Leafs . . . to assembled guests and outside listeners via a Canada-wide radio hook-up."[18] The listening audience also heard the Leafs given a "typical Toronto demonstration on behalf of an organization that probably carries a deeper rooted civic link than any other in the world of professional sport."[19] The luncheon became a patriotic demonstration when "Conny Smythe pledged to continue a program of public service through National League entertainment . . . . (He stated) the players have individually and collectively pledged themselves to respond to the call of the colours of the British Empire, if and when they are needed."[20]

The enthusiasm generated by Smythe occasioned the Globe and Mail to note that "few among us have not felt all along that our professional pucksters are as concerned about the international situation as any individual or group. At the same time, it is inspiring to learn of their patriotic pledge as outlined by Toronto's hockey leader."[21] The Leafs' "patriotic pledge" was made public in November when it was "discovered" that each member of the team had been reporting for rifle practise for two hours each day. Smythe had asked each Leaf to sign a playing contract which included the clause that they would serve the war effort "when and if and where and how the government should call on them."[22] The already high status of professional hockey players was elevated even higher as the public read that

> on a wind swept lakefront at Long Beach, twenty blue sweatered hockey players wrestled four yammering machine guns into a state of submission yesterday and exposed the Maple Leaf Club's secret affair with the Canadian Army. It had been going

> on undetected for three weeks, these discreet rendezvous which, by Spring, will make every member of the squad, including Manager Conny Smythe and Coach Dick Irvin, a qualified machine gunner . . . . Six days a week, barring one road trip interruption, they have implemented the pledge by reporting at 9 a.m. to Warrant Officer Hicknell of the Scottish and from then to eleven, obeying his and other instructors' orders as eagerly, and sometimes a good deal more faithfully, than they obey Smythe and Irvin at the Gardens.[23]

Appropriate photographs of the Leafs showing them at target practise served to illustrate and reinforce the notion that these professional athletes were interested in putting their country ahead more than they were their money making endeavors.

The Toronto team, by this time, had become a model for publicity seekers. In addition to the image generated by the radio and Foster Hewitt and hockey news booklets, the Leafs made it a practise to visit and play exhibition contests in the smaller communities after the end of training camp. On such a visit to Kirkland Lake, the Leafs played a spirited hockey game and in the process, gave their followers the opportunity to see, live, the personalities they had so often heard described by Foster Hewitt. More importantly, the Leafs took the opportunity to "visit schools and gatherings of youngsters who regard them as their sports heroes. Some Leafs even went to the hospitals to cheer up bed-ridden kids who couldn't get out to see them."[24] The Hockey team seemed always to be available to co-operate with service clubs in every city that it visited, thus ensuring that the name Maple Leafs, and by implication and association, the National Hockey League and professional athletes, was always identified with a recognized and respected service agency in the community. Everybody knew that the Kiwanis or Optimists or Lions clubs were respectable. Their promotional link with the professional team not only had a reciprocal effect, it served to confer some respectability on the athletes and re-inforced the notion that money was not the "be all and end all" of the professional.

In addition, the Leafs were providing the media with photographs, interviews, schedules and "news" releases. It all seemed to heighten the reporter's impression that everything was organized and nothing left to chance. Having been exposed to a "professional" organization, other sports covered by the reporter suffered by comparison. The notion was continually being reinforced that "professional" also meant that the smallest of details were being cared for. It was plainly obvious to him that these were not being looked after in the "amateur" sports. As professional sport increased in popularity, amateur and disorganized were becoming synonymous. When Vern DeGeer complained about the lack of publicity being provided by the "Big Four" football clubs and league, his comments were seconded by Elmer Ferguson of the Montreal *Herald*:

> . . . He doesn't really know the half of it. Our football clubs, professional in everything but name, are out for the money, either for the players or the owners but take it as their right that newspaper writers shall endure exposed press boxes, chase the clubs for news, do their own photography, cater to them in every conceivable fashion with no help whatever from the teams in the matter of publicity supplies. No other major groups in sport are conducted with such supreme disregard for assisting the press in its duties as these football organizations and no one moans louder, when through their own indifference, they do not receive what they consider to be their just dues in the matter of publicity. Perhaps clubs don't want publicity, which is all right with the newspaper but if they do, they have a long way to go in equalling the outright professional, and not merely synthetic professional organizations like the major hockey and baseball leagues in providing material.[25]

The Leaf's publicity barrage continued beyond the training camp in 1939. Smythe was critical of the Boston Bruin play during the season and prior to a visit to that city, he placed an advertisement in a Boston newspaper. The announcement cost him sixty-three dollars and took up the space of three columns while urging the Boston public to come out to the Boston Gardens and "see a real team, the Toronto Maple Leafs."[26] Smythe's message was part of a long simmering feud, real or manufactured, between himself and the Bruin's Art Ross. It served its purpose as the largest attendance of the season, 14,107, came to witness the confrontation. Smythe had termed the Bruin's style of play "a disgrace",[27] but on that particular evening they were obviously "riled up"[28] and defeated the Leafs by a 3 - 2 score.

Hockey has always been a rough game. The tempo of the action is such that it contributes to fistic outbreaks and verbal arguments. For the most part during this period there appeared to be a tacit recognition that the referee was being fair and impartial in his judgements. This is not to say that disputes did not occur. They did but the dispute centred more around the opinion that a referee made a human error rather than a biased judgement. Thus any questioning that was to take place was usually carried out within the bounds of respect for his authority. In 1939, it appeared that some of this respect was being lost. Its demise was being blamed on the intrusion into the "world's fastest sport . . . of the grain merchant and the stock broker who have thrust their heads into the business and brought about disgraceful scenes."[29] The "grain merchant" was James D. Norris Sr. "Canadian-born grain merchant, National Hockey League governor, owner of the Detroit Red Wings and more hockey players, franchises and arena strength than any other man in North America."[30] The "stock broker" was J. Earnest Savard, President of the Montreal Canadiens. In a game between Chicago and Toronto, Norris "vented his spleen behind the authority of his National Hockey League governorship, his hockey holdings and his other influences. He made a public scene with a courageous arbiter."[31] In Montreal, Savard "directed verbal and physical abuse" towards the game officials after the referees, Clancy and Day, disallowed a Canadien goal.

"Savard grabbed him by the shoulders, shook him roughly and poured in his ears a viscious burst of profanity. Savard next turned on the linesman (and) . . . poured out his ringside vituperation."[32]

Some eight thousand spectators, including President of the NHL, Frank Calder, had witnessed Savard's display. There was some concern expressed that the popularity of hockey and its commercial value was causing it to move into the "grip of the grain merchant Norris and stock broker Savard and irreparable harm is being done to the sport and will continue to be done until such men are handcuffed to their seats and muzzled." With the admonition that other sports such as baseball would never tolerate such behavior, Vern DeGeer wrote:

> . . . Let's put law and order back into the greatest game in the world of sport. Let's lend to the game the sportsmanship and dignity it deserves. Let's have the example set by the hockey overlords themselves. Let's give the game back to the customer with his enthusiastic roars and vigorous support of his favorite performers. Let's do these things and professional hockey will take care of itself.[34]

As the 1939-40 season was ending, the people of Canada were concerned about the issue of "law and order" on a much larger scale. The "phoney war" abruptly ended with the capture of France. Recruiting had been stepped up for the Canadian armed forces. Many athletes had been thinking about enlisting.[35] Conny Smythe urged his players to apply for entry permits into the United States in addition to requesting them "to join a non-permanent military unit and get their basic training."[36]

Governmental restrictions were imposed; a twenty per cent amusement tax was effected[37] and the "Foreign Exchange Board notified the players who were residing in the States that their weekly expenses would be rigidly limited and that the remainder of their salaries would be transferred to Canadian funds and credited to them in Canadian banks."[38] It was estimated that the Canadians playing hockey in the United States were earning $750,000 at a time when there was an urgent need for American funds in order to buy goods. As the war progressed, there was some criticism of the NHL for continuing its operations. In Winnipeg, the Chairman of the Manitoba National War Service Board refused to grant a passport to six young players wishing to try out with the Detroit Red Wings.

> That shot was heard in every rink in the land and instantly the decision was widely acclaimed:
>
> "It is more important that hockey players should be shooting a rifle than shooting a puck," wrote an editor.
>
> When I read the sports pages I see Goliaths of men in the wrong uniforms," declared an Ontario Judge.

> A Boston sports columnist reported that . . . "Canada isn't giving us very good lessons in unselfishness and patriotism."[39]

Perhaps to lead by example, Conny Smythe joined the forces for the second time in his career becoming Major Smythe M.C. Officer Commanding 30th Field Battery, 7th Toronto Regiment, R.C.A.[40] One year later, in 1942, the National Hockey League was without the services of ninety of its players who had left to serve in the war effort. In the following year, it was to issue a statement prohibiting any player eligible for military service unless he was a returning veteran.[41]

As the quality of play deteriorated from the high standards it enjoyed during the thirties the thought was given to suspending operations for the duration of the war. In a move to counteract such sentiment the Canadian and American governments "decreed the game essential to national morale."[42] The director of Canada's National Selective Service declared that the option was to maintain the NHL or "face the problem of what it means to hundreds of thousands of Canadians in entertainment and maintenance of morale."[43]

> That desire for wartime entertainment was almost urgent. Most war workers spent twelve to sixteen hours daily away from their industry, and hockey games that were played at night did not reduce production. So keen was the demand for some fun that during one wartime year, more than one and one-quarter million folks paid admissions to hockey games, skating spectacles and like attractions at Maple Leaf Gardens.[44]

Where possible, there was the identification of hockey with the war effort. Players were illustrated buying Victory Bonds; the Gardens management purchased $100,000 worth. Receipts from one game, totalling some $10,000, were donated to various patriotic funds. After a fight involving the use of hockey sticks, between Stewart of Toronto and Orlando of Detroit, both players were barred from playing in the other's city and in addition, they were each instructed "to contribute $100 to the Red Cross before they stepped on the ice" again.[45] Overseas, the NHL broadcasts were being carried into military camps as a feature of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

> An American correspondent wrote to his paper that Canada's hockey broadcast was the most popular in England. A Canadian commanding officer told an audience that more than anything else, even cigarettes and parcels, his men wanted hockey broadcasts.[46]

The Hockey Night In Canada broadcasts soon became a forum for important information. Recognizing that thousands of listeners were available at one time, various government agencies were able to relay their needs directly to the public. An indication of the popularity of hockey broadcasting in comparison with other programming can be gained from the following:

> After Dunkirk, Canada's war effort required a lot of field glasses of a type generally used by race-goers and bird lovers. Mr. Passmore, who was in charge of hockey broadcasts for the Maclaren Advertising

> Agency, told me they had been making a radio appeal for field glasses for an entire week. They had received only one pair.
> "When do you make your requests?" I asked him.
> "All during the day, on every program", Passmore said.
> "That's all wrong", I countered. "The women who listen to the soap operas don't use field glasses. You should make your requests between periods of a hockey game when sports minded people are listening in -- people who have glasses to dispose of."
> He took my advice and they tried out the scheme between periods of the game that Saturday evening. The following week, they had so many glasses sent in, that they had to make another appeal and beg people to not send any more. Such was the impact of hockey broadcasts at that time.[47]

As the uncertainty of war prevailed, various teams suspended operations. The New York Americans became the Brooklyn Americans and finally withdrew from the League leaving the NHL with six teams. In Football, Edmonton and Calgary disbanded and were followed by Hamilton. By 1942, only the ORFU and various service teams operated in the east. Because of the wartime situation, the AAU of C decided, in 1940, "that the intermingling of professionals and amateurs in contests sponsored by various military organizations can scarcely be considered a breach of the Union's regulations."[48] The Canadian Intercollegiate Union also declared that any student who was an amateur prior to his enlistment and had not contravened the amateur regulation since his discharge "shall not lose his amateur status by virtue of any act performed while a member of the Armed Services."[49]

The professional-amateur approaches and disagreements had been forgotten, especially in hockey where it was generally felt:

> During 1939 to 1945, there was confusion, excitement, tension. But when the war ended and the governments, the armed forces, the league, the players and the public renewed the activities of war-time hockey, it was generally agreed that a good job had been done and that each group had honourably carried its share of the load.[50]

On August 14, 1945, the war ended and few people were immediately thinking about sport. It was a time for celebration across the land. "From Halifax to Vancouver, long rehearsed plans for final victory took substance in street dances, showers of ticker tape and streamers and and boisterous back-slapping and often, in sheer hysteria."[51] In Ottawa, an impromptu parade of school children marched down the main thoroughfare banging on their improvised drums. In Winnipeg, an automobile of the 1920 vintage, fitted with an ear-splitting steamboat whistle, sounded its triumphant signal. In Halifax, where rioting on VE Day had caused two deaths and two million dollars property damage, the victory was celebrated in a more sober fashion: "Liquor stores in the sea-port city were under heavy guard by an occupation army of service police."[52] In neighbouring Sydney, huge bonfires were lit by the water's edge. At Edmonton's American Services Base, a party was held in the airport hangar while further west, in Vancouver and Victoria, impromptu parades were held in the downtown areas. In Saskatoon, it was time for public concerts followed by street dances and a huge V burned high on a river bank.[53]

Where a sports attraction was scheduled, the opportunity was used for celebration and thanksgiving. In Toronto

> the largest baseball gathering in the history of Maple Leaf Stadium, 19,192, including close to 1,000 men and women of the Armed Forces, watched a "Victory Day Doubleheader" between the Leafs and Newark. Prior to the first game, Father Thomas J. Battle, perennial baseball fan, spoke briefly, following which, the big crowd stood in silence in tribute to the fallen heroes of the allied forces. Between games, Mayor Bob Saunders also addressed the gathering and led in the singing of "Praise God From Whom All Blessings Flow".[54]

FOOTNOTES TO PART THREE, II

[1] Toronto Globe and Mail, February 13, 1939.

[2] Brian McFarlane, The Lively World of Hockey. Toronto: Pagurian Press, Ltd., 1967, p. 68.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Toronto Globe and Mail, February 14, 1939.

[5] Foster Hewitt, Hockey Night in Canada. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1953, p. 118.

[6] Toronto Globe and Mail, February 14, 1939.

[7] Ibid., June 15, 1939.

[8] Ralph Allen, Ordeal By Fire. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1961, p. 360.

[9] Toronto Globe and Mail, August 26, 1939.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Regina Leader-Post, September 1, 1939.

[12] R. Allen, op. cit., p. 358.

[13] F. Hewitt, op. cit., p. 119.

[14] Toronto Globe and Mail, September 14, 1939.

[15] Ibid., September 25, 1939.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Maitland, A. Eddy. This Fabulous Century, vol. 4, New York: Time-Life Books, 1969, p. 262.

[18] Toronto Globe and Mail, October 17, 1939.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] *Ibid*., November 25, 1939.

[23] *Ibid*.

[24] Toronto *Globe and Mail*, October 29, 1939.

[25] Montreal *Herald*, cited in the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, October 26, 1939.

[26] Toronto *Globe and Mail*, December 20, 1939.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] Toronto *Globe and Mail*, December 30, 1939.

[30] *Ibid*.

[31] *Ibid*.

[32] *Ibid*.

[33] *Ibid*.

[34] *Ibid*.

[35] Punch Imlach and Scott Young, *Hockey Is a Battle*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1968, p. 28.

[36] *Ibid*.

[37] B. McFarlane, *op. cit*., p. 76.

[38] F. Hewitt, *op. cit*., p. 120.

[39] *Ibid*., p. 121.

[40] B. McFarlane, *op. cit*.

[41] Toronto *Globe and Mail*, June 13, 1945.

[42] B. McFarlane, *op. cit*., p. 78.

[43] F. Hewitt, *op. cit*., p. 122.

[44] *Ibid*.

[45] *Ibid*.

[46] *Ibid*.

[47] F. Selke, op. cit., p. 131.

[48] Minutes of the AAU of C, 1946, p. 7.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] F. Hewitt, op. cit., p. 127.

[51] Toronto *Globe and Mail*, August 15, 1945.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *Ibid.*, August 16, 1945.

III

THE SHATTERING OF THE MYTH, 1946-1972

With the elapsing of the first fifty years of the twentieth century, a number of sports polls were taken during the year 1950. They served to give an indication of the relative popularity of various sports and, as well, the place of professionalism in Canadian sport. In a report published on March 8, 1950, it was mentioned that "horse racing may be the sport of kings but hockey is the king of sports."[1] The poll found that three in every five Canadians followed sport either as a spectator, by newspaper or on radio. The results were compared with a similar poll undertaken in 1942. The number of sports followers had increased from fifty-seven to sixty-two per cent among the Canadian public over age twenty-one.

To the question, "Of the sports you follow, which one do you enjoy the most?" the comparative replies were:

	% 1942	% 1950
Hockey	56	57
Baseball	18	19
Football	8	8
Boxing	2	4
Tennis	2	-
Curling	1	3

	% 1942	% 1950
Lacrosse	1	1
All Others	12	8

It was recognized that the poll had a built in bias towards the winter sports since it was conducted in the middle of that season. Nonetheless, it did serve to indicate the place of hockey in the Canadian culture. No distinction was attempted between "Amateur" and "Professional" yet it appears that because of a third question asked, there appeared to be no doubt of the prominence of professional hockey and indeed, the professional athlete.

When asked to nominate the best Canadian athlete for 1949, the public chose Barbara Ann Scott over Maurice Richard by a narrow margin. Frank Filchock, Turk Broda, Bill Durnan, Ted Kennedy and Cliff Lumsden followed. The interesting feature of the results was that each of the athletes was then engaged in professional sport. Barbara Ann Scott was undoubtedly still basking in the glory of her Olympic and World figure skating championships for she had been a professional skater in ice "revues" since December of 1948. Richard, Broda, Durnan and Kennedy were all NHL players; Filchock was an American import playing with the Montreal Alouettes and Cliff Lumsden a renowned marathon swimmer.

Of more significance was a year end report which summarized the impressions and opinions of sportswriters as to the most important developments during the previous fifty years. Their overwhelming opinion was translated into the headline: "$ Sign Conquers All In Sports".[2] The story reported:

> The almighty dollar won a spot right up there with the all-time athletic greats as the outstanding development of the half-century. Voters in a Canadian Press poll decided overwhelmingly that the dollar's influence was the most significant trend of the last fifty years. They said it in different ways, from "dough" to "commercialization of amateur sport" but almost half of those polled agreed that the trend away from play for fun to play for pay highlighted the period.[3]

As indicated, there were a variety of ways in expressing the same notion. The writer from the Edmonton Journal expressed his with the simple word "dough". Gerald Renaud of Ottawa used the single word "professionalism", as did Dave Price of Toronto and Jim Patton of Kelowna. Andy Lyttle of the Vancouver Sun responded with "$$$$ and more of them", while Elmer Ferguson of the Montreal Herald, offered "the development of pro hockey in the matter of scouting, farms, increased salaries with long schedules, together with the installation of a pension system and the open payment to 'amateur' players."[4]

As a professional sport in Canada, hockey was in a class all by itself. Only in 1950 was the contract being used extensively in Canadian football, and, while players were being paid, none of the clubs were admitting that they were a professional organization. It served to illustrate, in retrospect, that there was more to being a professional than simply being paid. As Ferguson had indicated, NHL hockey had grown much beyond the simple equation of professionalism with money. There was the skill of the performer involved as well as organization which used the player's acumen as a vehicle to greater profits. Organizationally, clubs and leagues had to ensure the public of the integrity of the performers while at the same time promoting the game as worthy entertainment.

Throughout the history of professional sport, it was an accepted "fact" that corruption would follow the entrance of money into sport. The early contract of the NHA sought to guarantee the moral correctness of its players (see Appendix A) by legislating against what was considered to be improper behavior. The "gentleman" of the nineteenth century was removed from the scene but in the player's contract of 1910, the emulation of his conduct remained. However, standards of conduct with respect to some social expectations change. Drinking, for example, was to become more acceptable with the repeal of prohibition. One area which had not changed and was not likely to change in the future was the concern by professional sports organizations in maintaining public confidence in their integrity. The one redeeming feature that a club or league must be able to point to is the honesty of their sport. Without the fundamental belief on the part of the paying public that the competition is honest beyond reproach, commercialized sport would find it difficult if not impossible to exist. For that reason, gambling has always been "frowned upon" by league officials of any sport. This is not to say that professional sport has not and is not the object of gambling. It has, is now, and, probably, ever shall be. Yet the two major recognized professional leagues in Canada, the NHL and CFL, control gambling among their players by a series of league by-laws. In the Canadian Football League, the rules and regulations provide for severe penalties such as indefinite or lifetime suspensions, up to $10,000 in fines and even revocation of franchise to hopefully act as a deterrent to any club personnel who would contemplate influencing the spread of points in a game."[5] Similar legislation exists in the National Hockey League calling for "expulsion from the sport and a fine of up to $5,000 . . . whether or not the player had any connection with the game in question."[6]

To this writing there have been no instances in Canadian football of a CFL player having been disciplined for betting on games or the accepting of bribes. The same has not been true of the National Hockey League. Both Leagues are convinced that the intrusion of gambling into their sport would make it "doubtful that the fans could have the faith in the integrity of the sport to a degree that would permit its survival."[7] When the problem of gambling has surfaced in the National Hockey League, that body has shown itself to be decisive in its actions. On January 29, 1946, Babe Pratt of the Maple Leafs was suspended by NHL President "Red" Dutton. The charge was gambling. While contemporary reports indicated that he had bet on his own team,[8] subsequent information stated differently. The later report said that Pratt had bet on hockey games and was approached by gamblers "to fix the score of the NHL game . . . . Pratt hadn't bet on a game played by Toronto . . . . The gamblers hadn't in the least influenced Pratt's play."[9] While Dutton was bound by the regulations of the League to expel Pratt from hockey, the NHL governors showed "a measure of leniency in penalizing Pratt to a sixteen game exile in 'limbo'."[10]

There was no such leniency shown in the next case of gambling uncovered in the NHL. During 1946, Clarence Campbell was selected as President of the National Hockey League. He was a man of high credentials; a University of Alberta graduate, a lawyer, a Rhodes Scholar, a former NHL referee and a distinguished career in the armed forces. Early in his tenure as President, Campbell publicly stated his hopes for hockey. In a speech to the Young Men's Canadian Club in Toronto he assessed that

> hockey, now, has reached the point where it is a part of our way of life. It is

> a national asset and it will, I hope, continue to grow. I foresee the day when an arena in every community will join with the church and the school in molding the character of the country.[11]

Eight months earlier, Campbell had suspended two players for gambling on NHL games. After listening to a wire-tapped conversation provided by Detroit Police, Campbell suspended Billy Taylor of the New York Rangers and Don Gallinger of the Boston Bruins for "conduct detrimental to hockey and for association with a known gambler."[12] No evidence was volunteered by the NHL to substantiate the life suspension at the time but Gallinger was to state publicly that he

> asked Campbell to keep his 1949 confession confidential in deference to his father, who couldn't believe his son was involved in the cynical business of betting against his own team. Campbell complied with the request.[13]

The public and media were unaware of the nature of the charges. Campbell was alternately damned and praised for his action and vigilance. He was called "the first judge Landis the game has ever had and for no other reason than that, he wields a lot of power and strikes terror in those who dare to contemplate a wrong-doing, a healthy influence for the conduct and character of the ice-sport."[14] The same source, however, was to say that the NHL president was a "Czar, or to be up to date, a dictator . . . . If he were to ply himself as zealously in protecting the players and encouraging their rights to advancement to the evils of front office manipulation, he would be doubly esteemed in the eyes of fans."[15] In November, 1948, Gallinger was suspended from the NHL and Taylor was barred from that organization for life. The suspension of the two players was lifted only in 1970.

Perhaps linked to the Taylor-Gallinger suspensions, the NHL issued its "non-fraternization" regulation in November of 1948. The rule prohibited rival players from socializing with each other during the playing season. "It must look fine" said Conny Smythe, "to see them laughing and loving together just before one of the teams goes out and gets thoroughly skunked."[16] Clarence Campbell explained that there was no ulterior motive in the passage of the regulation. It was simply one less inference of gambling or collusion available to the public. When a Boston newspaper asked mockingly whether Max Bentley could see his brother Doug or Chuck Raynor could still work in his summer partnership with "Sugar Jim" Henry, an infuriated Conny Smythe retorted that the Boston story was

> unadultered balderdash . . . . A typical example of good old American heart-throb. It's enough to turn your stomach. What hockey players do in the off-season is their own business. It's definitely stated in a player's contract what constitues a hockey season and when they're working for us during that time, we want everything they can give.[17]

There was generally widespread agreement for the reasoning behind the regulation but the long range effect of the policy has been questionable from other perspectives. True there have been no gambling scandals in the NHL but the impression of aloofness, coldness and unfriendliness given by the players coupled with Conny Smyth's widely printed quote, "If you can't beat them outside in the alley, you can't beat them inside on the ice,"[18] has served as a model for younger hockey players to the point where seldom is there a handshake on the ice after the game at the expert or novice level. In International hockey, the handshake at the end of the contest is a tradition. To refuse to partake of the custom would be an insult. The absence of such a handshake after the first game of the Team Canada - USSR series, for whatever reason, caused an understandable and predictable reaction among followers of the sport who were familiar with international hockey.

The non-fraternization rule was, in effect, an attempt to shape the public's impression of the professional athlete. By eliminating the opportunity for the mingling of the athletes in full view of the paying public, the league was creating the impression that no mingling was taking place. As a result, even the thought of collusion in the public's mind would be lessened. Perhaps it was a necessary step in the guarantee of integrity but it signalled a stepped-up campaign in the creation of an image for the professional athlete. Management was to insist that, as with the fraternization rule, the Reserve Clause was also "good for the game". The clause first made its appearance in hockey in the NHA contract of 1910. It bound the player to the club of his original signing unless he was released or assigned to another team. In describing the contractual innovation in 1910, it was mentioned that the players were not able "to give their services to any other club without the written consent of the 'party of the first part', who scintillates throughout the agreement."[19] Nor could they join any other club when the contract expired without first acquiring their release from the Club. The "option clause" of football served the same purpose but was somewhat different in that the player was granted "free agent" status one year after the expiration of the contract. It made its appearance in Canadian football in 1950 in order to stabilize team rosters. Professional teams have always maintained that the option and reserve clauses are necessary evils. Without them, it is said, the best ball players would eventually join the team which had the most money to offer. As a result, competition would be effectively destroyed and so would the leagues, leaving the owners, players and fans to suffer. The argument continued by stating that stability and equality of competition were promoted by the clause and these more than offset any lack of bargaining freedom imposed on the player.

In addition to his playing skills, the NHL candidate was bound by the terms of his contract[20] "to co-operate with the Club and participate in any and all promotional activities of the Club and the League which will, in the opinion of the Club promote the welfare of the Club or professional hockey generally."

Professional sport in Canada, in the sense of the NHL and the CFL, is firstly a commercial enterprise and as such, has always been dependent upon the public in order to operate. It remained the task of the organization to market its product in such a way as to make it desirable to the consumer. The sports fan had to feel that something worthwhile was happening, something he should not miss. It became the function of publicity to initiate and then sustain that type of response.

Much has been mentioned in this study of the publicity generated for the Toronto Maple Leafs under the aegis of Conny Smythe and Frank Selke. When Selke joined the Montreal Canadiens in 1946, that team was preparing for a western tour of exhibition games. A group of NHL "All-Stars" including Toronto's Turk Broda was to provide the opposition. Games were played in Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, Nanaimo and Vancouver as well as Spokane, Washington. Selke was chagrined to hear that Montreal's "best efforts, particularly those of Maurice Richard, were greeted with hoots and catcalls, while the All-Stars, with

Toronto's deservedly popular Turk Broda in the nets, were cheered to the echo."[21] Selke remembered the tour that the Leafs had made with Detroit and the reaction that the Red Wings received and came to the conclusion that the Canadiens "had to win an equal split of the trans-Canada radio broadcasts."[22] Selke's reaction, guided by his past experiences gives credence to the anecdote found in McFarlane's study.[23]

> Alan Rank, the Promotor of the Globe Arena Company, was seated in his office when someone rushed in and says:
> "Mr. Rank, Comet Cormier, the right wing has just broken his leg."
> "Hmmm, Hmmm, that's too bad."
> The same messenger came in five minutes later and reported that the centre had broken his collar-bone
> "Hmmm, Hmmm, that's too bad."
> Someone else rushed in and mentioned that the left wing had broken his arm.
> "Hmmm, Hmmm, that's too bad."
> The telephone rings.
> "What's that? Claude Boyer, the publicity director has a sore throat? Jesus Christ! Call the doctors! Get the ambulance! Phone the Neuro!"

There is no question that promotion had reached the point where it was most vital to commercialized sport. The anecdote, of course is exaggerated but nonetheless, it did illustrate the need for such a person and his skills.

> Sports promotors are those individuals or groups of whom it might be said "Sports is their business" and whose primary interest in the world of sport is that of the entrepreneur. Most of their activities are concerned directly with shaping sports into a product with a high degree of sales value in the field of commercial recreation. They

> attempt to develop, publicize and advertise sports so that they may attract capacity crowds into their arenas and stadia to watch the sports events taking place. In addition, they attempt to supply, maintain and create the public's demand for sport as a form of commercial spectator recreation.[24]

Over the years the type of promotor has changed. During the early part of the century, the sports promotor was likely to be an individual who was willing to take a risk, men such as Tom Flanagan of Toronto and Deacon White of Edmonton. With the increasing costs of operation, particularly as the growth of professional team sports took place it became necessary to form organizations. By so doing, more money was available, the financial risk was minimized to the individuals and a division of labor was possible within the group. The organization might help to look after the arena or stadium management, and maintain the day to day operations of the team or the "farm system". In effect the tasks of the early entrepreneur and the later collective one co-exist within the two major professional leagues (NHL, CFL) in Canada. In those operations, League offices are maintained, the NHL in Montreal and the CFL in Toronto. One of the functions of the League office is to promote its sport, essentially at its own level of operation, in order to create a widespread climate for the individual teams who in turn publicize their particular operations. In other words, on both the League and Team levels, a staff of publicists will exist. The size of the staff will vary but its basic function is "to advertise and publicize coming events and see that sports writers (and sportscasters) are amply supplied with information, statistics, photographs and 'human interest' material."[25]

With the newspapers and the electronic media being so competitive and finding it necessary to report every day, these publicity releases are gratefully received. When the reporters functioned as active newsgatherers, that is, when they probed and would "dig" for their material, the idea behind the releases was that he could perhaps use some of the information in order to fashion his report. As wire services developed and the amount of sports in need of coverage increased, the reporter's role became a more receptive one. News releases were likely to be printed in their entirety, not only in the local newspaper but perhaps right across the country if the story was placed on the wire services. In effect, while it was being carried as "news" to the reading, listening and watching public, it was really a form of advertising.

The sports promotor is capable of manipulating publicity in order to effect self-fulfilling prophecies. If a team wins a Grey Cup or a Stanley Cup or if a player sets some long elusive record, there is likely to occur a "spontaneous welcome home." Supporters of the team gather at the airport, the train or bus station to show their appreciation of the particular feat. In some instances, the gatherings are genuine but in others they are, to varying degrees, contrived. For example, in a situation where a star player had broken a league record while playing out of town, many radio stations and newspaper reporters called the Club offices in order to see if a "celebration had been planned" to meet the player at the station. The Club official replied that it had planned none but that a number of followers had called to ask when the train was arriving. The information was then broadcast by the station on their "every hour on the hour" news reports and appeared in all the afternoon sports pages "so that by the time the train arrived, there was a crowd on hand to greet the star player."[26] Such an occasion would give the club publicists a further source of material for their information. In the above case, ". . . they said there were 8,000 but they were lucky if there were 800 there last night. But it was well planned . . . . My photographer went down and we had a hard time making the crowd look like 200."[27]

The sports promotor is assisted by other concerns who use sport as a vehicle for their own use and, in the process, assist in creating and maintaining it. McFarlane has identified these Indirect Promotors as falling into the categories of Commercial, Socio-charitable and political.[28] The commercial sponsor is one who underwrites the cost of televising or broadcasting an NHL game, such as

Imperial Oil or Molson's, or a CFL contest, Canadian Pacific Railway or Labatt's. These firms are businesses firstly and "if they thought for five minutes that it wouldn't be a success or wouldn't help their business, they'd drop it . . . ."[29] Because the descriptions of the events contain only positive references to the style and quality of play, the commercial companies become party to the active promotion of the sport. As to whether the arrangement has been successful, a general manager stated, ". . . it's reflected in the sale of beer. Since my sponsors have not said anything to me about it, I assume it is a success, 'cause they're in business not sports."[30]

The commercial firm might also arrange for personal appearances on their premises to allow the public to "meet the stars". It may involve a fee being paid to the club by the firm, a car agency perhaps, but just as often it is done without charge. The athlete will perhaps receive a nominal sum but since in his Standard Player's Contract it stipulates that he must undertake such duties at the discretion of the Club, he is as likely to not receive any payment. He, and the Club, particularly, receive the benefit of the publicity generated by the business enterprise's promotion of the event through the media.

The newspaper can also be included in this discussion as a commercial enterprise. Traditionally, its guidelines have been that

> advertising goes in the advertising columns, opinions in the editorial columns and news alone in the news columns. However, the taboos against free publicity for commercial enterprises are swept aside in the sports column by the demands of "Monday morning quarterbacks", avid rooters, "hot stove" experts, aggressive circulation managers and sports publicity men. In addition, a well organized system of reciprocal obligations operative between the sports writers and the promotors ensures that only the favourable news will be printed . . . . Thus if sports are popular and the newspapers contribute to this popularity by printing favourable commentaries, they will increase their circulation and reach the thousands of "paper fans" who participate vicariously in sports through the newspapers.[31]

Radio and Television also contribute to the promotion in much the same way. In the case of radio, the promotion might take place during the conversation, between records, of a "disc jockey" or "radio personality". In his banter, the announcer might discuss the athlete's playing talent or some aspect of his family or personal life (always in favourable terms). The radio station might also feature audience participation programming such as sports quiz shows, audio-taped replays of a recent game, "sports salute" shows and opportunities to phone in a prediction for the upcoming game. All serve to indicate that the commercial enterprises "are just following the old slogan: 'Hitch your wagon to the stars',"[32] in an effort to sell more.

Among the Socio-Charitable groups, the publicity generated serves to heighten the stature of the player, club and League involved as well as the work of the organization involved. Service groups such as Kiwanis, Optimists, Kinsmen, Big Brother, as well as campaigns conducted by Easter Seals and similar groups, usually have a good cause for which to raise money. In operating a "Sports Celebrity Dinner", selling raffle tickets featuring seasons tickets or Grey Cup tickets as prizes, or guaranteeing a Club a sum of money for a block of tickets so as to sell the tickets at a price to earn money for a charity, the organization identifies itself with the recognized expertise of the professional organization thereby benefitting both parties in the process.

In the post-war growth of professional sport, the interesting phenomena of the overlapping of the seasons has occurred. It was once a generally held feeling that baseball was played in the summer, football in the autumn and hockey in the winter. It is no longer the case. A follower of sport can now watch a World Series game on television in the morning, attend a football game in the afternoon and see a hockey game in the evening. The situation has become such that in the United States, Congressman Morris K. Udall, a former professional basketball player, has suggested "the limiting of broadcasting seasons for major sports. He said television over-exposure is putting sports fans on the brink of boredom."[33] In terms of publicity, the competition from other sports has meant that there has been more of a concerted effort on the part of the Club or League to be more aware of the value of "good coverage".

Since the newspaper reporter has traditionally been the link between the supporters of the Club and the Club itself, it has been in this area that the promotor has intensified his publicity efforts by various persuasion techniques.[34] These might include personal contacts on the part of the promotor with the reporter through cocktail parties, lunches, or personally giving the "news" release to the reporter.

There are a number of ways available to the promotor to facilitate the publication of his information. Firstly, it should be recognized for many of the reasons already stated, there is a certain amount of prestige in being associated with a professional sporting club. The reporter might, in addition to the normal stories and coverage that he provides, be offered the opportunity write a feature story in the Club program. Perhaps his expenses, plane fare, meals, accommodations, etc. will be covered by the Club on "away" game trips. He might also be asked to write the news releases for the Club. His name, of course, would not be associated with them but he would be paid a sum for his work. He might, in any event be put on the Club's payroll as a bonus for the excellent coverage given. Not so subtle ways include threats to the reporter's security. He is under some pressure during the football season, for example, to submit a column every day. Many reporters, while they are excellent writers, will admit that they simply do not know a great deal about the sport that they are covering, particularly from a technical point of view. The promotor, as the coach or the general manager, can threaten to no longer make the news available to the reporter if his stories stray too far from what is considered to be acceptable. Once, it is recalled, a coach of a CFL team refused to see a reporter for three days because he disapproved of the reporter's article. On another occasion, when a reporter used the word "dull" in the caption to describe a game which was played in ninety degree heat, high humidity and ended in a score of 3 - 0, the reporter was reprimanded in the coach's office and told that it took only one phone call to his boss in order "to have his job". The reporter refused to be intimidated and calmly walked around to the front of the desk where the coach was standing, picked up the phone and handed it to him. No call was made but the writer was replaced later, perhaps coincidentally.

In 1962 in the midst of the World Series of baseball, that sport was most effectively removed from the sports headlines of most Canadian newspapers when it was announced that the Chicago Black Hawks had offered one million dollars for Toronto Maple Leaf Frank Mahovlich. The majority of the papers reported the story faithfully and it was not until Globe and Mail sports columnist, Scott Young, returned from his assignment of covering the World Series, that the deal was described as "H-O-K-U-M. Hokum, bunkum, nonsense, guile, delusion, gullery, bluff, hanky-panky, sham, make believe, spoof, hoax, bamboozle, gerrymandering and humbug."[35] After writing to say that Stafford Smythe was heard to say "We'll get the World Series out of the sports pages tomorrow morning", Young declared:

> There was a day when Conny Smythe used to wear a top hat to get publicity for professional hockey. He found that the strangest things made the front pages; a reducing diet for an overweight goalie, a bouquet of flowers sent to an opposition owner; even more recently the mere denial that a Toronto hotel promotor was trying to buy the Leafs. Conn Smythe did the job so well that hockey around here doesn't need that kind of publicity any more. But some people can't let a good joke die. They have not noticed that vaudeville is dead.[36]

Young, warming to his subject, continued by chiding Maple Leaf director John Bassett, also the owner of the Telegram, which had given the offer front page prominence. He finished by declaring that

> on the day that Leafs sell Mahovlich (now at 24, he is worth a million dollars to any hockey man who has it to spare), the sun will rise in the west, Eddie Shack will be named Miss Body Beautiful of the half century, Sonny Liston will read the lesson in Timothy Eaton Memorial Church, Punch Imlach will appear in a television commercial plugging that "greasy Kid Stuff".[37]

As a result of his column, the Maple Leafs removed Scott Young from his position as a between period interviewer on the hockey telecasts. One of the persuasion techniques of the promotors was being demonstrated. He understood what was happening:

> They will fight you with any means at their disposal . . . . If you have a valid point with which they disagree, they will do everything within their power, including keeping you off television and out of certain publications, anything that is within their power to do, they'll do to keep you from expressing it publicly.[38]

Dick Beddoes, sports columnist with the Toronto Globe and Mail, is another reporter who spoke of pressure being applied to report "news" according to the wishes of sports promotors. When the "Sports Hot Seat" was auditioning for panelists in 1964, Beddoes was told by John Esaw that he would be a panelist. The show opened without Beddoes' involvement. "Much later, Esaw confided to him, 'I'm sorry but there was no way Bassett would allow you on this show'."[39] Beddoes testified before the Senate committee on the mass media in 1970 where he stated that the sports establishment "uses every weapon from flattery to slander, from special news favor to exclusion to make the sports attaches (writers) a submissive herd."[40]

It has not been only the writers who have been chastised by the operators of commercial sport. If players advanced an idea that seemed to counter the image that the promotor was trying to portray, forms of punitive measures could be taken. The "retirement" of Charlie Conacher a short time after his column calling for a money bonus and a trophy for the leading scorer[41] in the NHL could have been a punitive measure. Could there have been a connection between his "retirement" and his criticism that owners were busy building "million dollar ice palaces" while imposing a salary limit of seven thousand dollars on the players and with only a few being able to attain that? It has never been otherwise stated that Conacher's retirement was due to other than "doctor's orders". However the fact remains that he did return to play hockey, not with the Leafs, but with Detroit. The pattern was to repeat itself many times over. In 1957, Ted Lindsay was traded to Chicago from Detroit where he had been a longtime favorite. On the same day that Senator Hartland Molson announced that "he had bought controlling interest in the Canadian Arena Company which owned and operated the Montreal Forum and the Montreal Canadiens"[42] for an estimated four to five million dollars, Lindsay announced that the Players Association intended to sue the NHL for three million dollars because the league refused recognition to the association.

When the Association was formed in February of 1957, a press conference was called in New York to make the announcement. It appeared that Lindsay was attempting to allay any fears that the owners might have towards the players' body. He stated: "We have organized to promote and protect the best interests of players. We don't intend to start a revolution. We aren't displeased or discontented about anything right now."[43] Conny Smythe's reaction was to brand Jimmy Thomson, a veteran of twelve years and a player's representative, "'a traitor and a Quisling', according to Thomson."[44] Thomson was "sent down" to Rochester and within six months was traded to Chicago. Tod Sloan, another Leaf and linked with the association was also "exiled" to the Black Hawks. Lindsay himself was a member of the Detroit Red Wings. On July 23, 1957, he too was traded to the Chicago team. "Independence of thought was not, Lindsay concluded, a characteristic that was encouraged by NHL executives. 'They don't think we have minds of our own. They want to treat us as children'."[45]

When he was elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame in June of 1966, he declined to attend the ceremony because the honoured players' wives and family were excluded from attending. Even in retirement he was to exhibit some independence. He stayed home: "To hell with that. If my wife and kids can't see the old man honoured, what's the point? Thanks but no thanks."[46]

The 1957 attempt at a Players' Association collapsed. Within a few months, the Detroit players announced that they no longer wished to participate. For ten years, the idea languished. In 1966-67, it was resurrected with the assistance of the Toronto Lawyer Alan Eagleson and on June 7, 1967, it became an established reality. A number of factors contributed to its development. Eagleson had been acting as an advisor to a number of NHL players, notably Bob Pulford and Carl Brewer. He had already established a reputation as a good advisor. Among some of his clients were members of the Springfield team of the American Hockey League. The players protested the working conditions of the Eddie Shore owned team and were told to be on the ice for practise or never play hockey again.[47] When he found out that the League President was Eddie Shore's nephew, Jack Butterfield, Eagleson travelled to Springfield to listen to the players' complaints.

> "When you hear one Eddie Shore story, you smile, as people seem to have been doing for years," Eagleson grimly recounted. "When you hear ten you might still grin weakly. When you hear a hundred -- you want to throw up. If the players were dogs you'd pick up the phone and call the Humane Society.[48]

Eagleson threatened to challenge the players' working conditions in a court of law but the crisis was solved and Eagleson's reputation was made with the players. Soon the Boston Bruins players contacted the Toronto lawyer about the possibility of forming an Association. The timing was good. The NHL was about to expand to a twelve team League during the 1967-68 season and there was a need for players. Within a short time, Eagleson had pledges from one hundred and ten players to join the Association. In addition, he had "toured minor league centres signing players across the U.S. so that he'd be ready for hockey's expansion. When expansion came, he had them all."[49] Faced with the fact that the players were united and in light of the expansion and hopes for an American network television contract, the National Hockey League recognized the Players' Association and its first president, Bobby Pulford of Toronto. Unlike 1957, there were no banishments to Chicago but in the early years of the Association there was a fragile marriage of convenience between management and players. When "Punch" Imlach, the Coach and General Manager of the Maple Leafs, discovered that his players were pressuring Frank Mahovlich to join the Association, a situation that Imlach saw as adding to that player's depression, he was infuriated. His relationship with Eagleson was not good to start with but now Imlach thought he could see Mahovlich growing more despondent over the situation. In his book[50] Imlach described the scene:

> I was mad. Eagleson, then a recently defeated politician and executive for the Players' Association had been one of the mouthiest guys around in telling me what I was doing wrong in the way I treated players. Even then, he was practically carrying on a vendetta against me, through a few mouthpieces in the press, on the score that I'd rode them, interfered with their lives, etc. etc. And here the outfit that he ran, the Players' Association, was bothering Frank . . . . I was flaming mad. I said "If I ever find a son-of-a-bitch in here soliciting for that Union -- look out, you're gone. I don't give a damn who it is . . . . If that goddam thing there, the union, is gonna put me out a good hockey player, there is no way I can be in favour of it. So", I said, "now you know which sides we're on."[51]

In the Canadian Football League, a Players' Association had been formed in 1965 so as to give the players a voice in playing conditions. At its founding, also, care was taken to play down the militancy of the situation. The Ottawa players' representatives made it clear that their team-mates wanted it understood that under no conditions should the constitution of the newly formed body-to-be contain the right to strike. There was a fear that such an action would deprive the public of entertainment that they looked forward to. It was at the same meeting, at the Constellation Hotel in Toronto on May 15 and 16, that it was decided the word "Union" should not be used in describing the new body. It was felt that there was too strident a ring to it; the word Association was much more acceptable. The same meeting also decided that Hamilton Lawyer, John Agro, would be the legal counsel of the Association.

"Difficult" players have at various times been traded or sold to teams who were re-building. For many years, the Saskatchewan Roughriders and, later the Edmonton Eskimos rosters read like a "who's who" from the other teams. Just as Chicago, perhaps because of its distance from the two Canadian centres, had served as a place of banishment in the NHL, so too did the isolated centres of the Canadian west. Occasionally a player of some stature and ability was released with no plausible explanation. In the 1971 season, Mel Profit was a co-captain of the Toronto Argonauts as well as an All-Canadian selection at tight end. He was released prior to the start of the 1972 season. The move was explained in terms of the Import - Non-Import ratio of players but there appeared to be a deeper motive. Profit had earlier criticized the installation of artificial turf at Toronto's CNE Stadium, being quoted as saying "they did it for a private enterprise employing 32 football players, at a cost of $600,000 to the public. They didn't ask the public if such an expenditure should have a high priority. The public simply got zapped."[52] Profit was at the same time writing a somewhat controversial book about his impressions of football in which he was highly critical of the Argo methods used in running the team. He also was outspokenly opposed to the CFL's change in roster composition. The roster of thirty-two players remained the same but within that number the Non-import (Canadian) was dropped from eighteen to seventeen and the Import (American) was increased to fifteen. Profit, an American, argued that the CFL should be phasing out the American player because of the increasingly better calibre of Canadian football players. Of course there was always the possibility that the Club's expplanation was the right one but as far as Dick Beddoes was concerned, it was "too pat, cut too much to the pattern of a cop-out. Perhaps Profit was lopped because his established style of rattle and roll did not fit the football fashion of Cahill and especially Barrow."[54]

It was more than coincidence that the two Associations came into being within a short span of one another. With the growth of spectator sport, there had been a host of attendant pressures which weighed heavily on the athlete. He had to live his life in the "public eye". There was always a tinge of glamor to it but more often than not there was a tenseness from not being able to relax. If the athlete went into a public tavern or drinking place, he ran the risk of later being described as "drunk" in some people's conversations or newspaper gossip columns. If he was seen at night close to midnight, it was liable to be exaggerated to be the "wee hours of the morning". The professional athlete, being told constantly that he was a model for youth would wonder if he smoked a cigarette in the sight of children, would he encourage them to smoke as well? If he had the habit of smoking but took care not to smoke in front of the public at gatherings or on the street, was he not being hypocritical? Because the athlete was considered an expert in his field, there was the feeling on the part of the public that his expertise carried over into any and all facets of life. He might be asked to comment on matters of which he knew nothing more than a smattering and yet his words would be listened to solemnly and accepted at face value. The problem always existed, too, of hypercritical followers. The athlete understood that the difference between winning and losing and the difference between "good" teams and "bad" teams was often measured in inches or instants. Somedays anticipation was rewarded: others it resulted in being out of position. There were the boos of those in attendance that one might have to endure. Publicly the athlete would mouth the statement expected of him: "they paid their money they have a right to boo" while inwardly he felt that the mere paying of money shouldn't allow anyone the right to exhibit poor taste and bad manners. Specialists in certain skills on the field of sport had a heightened awareness of the limbs used in the execution of their skill. The quarterback was liable to think of his body as being an extension of his arm. To pick up a hammer in order to nail a piece of wood caused him to start thinking: "Will the swinging of the hammer help develop any muscles which could hinder my throwing?" In the middle of the summer, long-sleeved pyjama tops would be packed for the road trips in the event of the ARM slipping out from underneath the covers and be exposed to the cold air of the air-conditioned hotel room. A blister on the athlete's foot, not enough to bother the average person in his day to day routine, would be a source of irritation to the athlete. He would be reminded of it on every pounding stride he took and on occasion he would lose the intensity of his sense of concentration.

In the North American milieu of high level sport, age has always been a factor. The young first year athlete is described as a "rookie", his second as a "sophomore". As he continues to play, he becomes the "young veteran", the "veteran", the "old pro" and then simply "old". Depending on the playing talent available, it has always been generally held in Canadian sport circles that the athlete is getting old at thirty. Consequently, most athletes are forced into the situation where they, or the club, falsify their age. Among professional athletes, it is common knowledge that approximately one birthday in every five years of playing experience is conveniently forgotten. If a player is traded and therefore fills out an "information sheet" for his new club, it becomes a good opportunity for him to revise, downward, his age. Sometimes the club itself, without the player's knowledge will revise it downwards, unaware that the player perhaps has already done it, thus resulting in a double rejuvenation. The practise has been in vogue for years, sometimes with amusing consequences:

> George Hainsworth, one of Canadiens most successful goalies, didn't turn professional until he was 28 years old. He played in the NHL until he was 42 despite the fact that the official record books list his age as 35. This was a considerable worry to Mrs. Hainsworth who was forced to juggle her own age to keep pace with her husband who was growing younger every year.[55]

With the growth and popularity of professional sport in the post-war period, a number of introductions were made to place the operations of the NHL on a more business-like basis. A modest pension plan was introduced in 1948, the same year of the gambling problems and the non-fraternization regulation. The sixty game schedule introduced in 1946 was increased to seventy games for the 1949-50 season. With no television available, the increased schedule was the only means available to significantly augment revenue but to some players and teams the increase was too much. Garth Boesch, a defenceman with the Toronto Maple Leafs was one who decided to retire after the 1949-50 season. His reason: "It had ceased to be fun."[56] The feeling appeared to be general enough to solicit a comment from Conny Smythe. His reaction to the criticism was to say that "there's nothing wrong with the new seventy game schedule . . . . Any young Canadian who can't play seventy games should get out of the sport and likewise any promotor who can't sell thirty-five games in his hometown."[57]

It was becoming evident as well that the emphasis on the money that was being paid to the athlete was having varying effects on the public. As mentioned previously, the spectator has the feeling that because he paid his way into the stadium, that somehow allowed him to boo, criticize, jeer, and generally behave in an ignorant way if he so desired. The feelings of the player, his friends or his family are not taken into account; the fan has paid his money, the player was a paid performer and therefore the spectator was entitled to his insulting behavior. Of course it should not be taken that all spectators reacted as described. With most spectators who paid an admission charge to see a highly skilled display of skill, there was an expectancy of the level of the performance. But similarly, many spectators, owners, followers and reporters were likely to conclude that because a player earned money, he should not make mistakes. The more money he earns, the more flawless should be his game. Perhaps it is tied up with the association of status with money in our society. The wealthy person is generally considered to be successful and the more successful he is the more money he has. Because he has all this money the average person is likely to think that the wealthy person has been able to make the right decisions. In the sports world, impressions of this sort might be as a result of misinformed publicity. Because of the promotion of the Club or perhaps because of the pressure of competition from media concentration, an individual or a team can be promoted in such a way that they are gradually considered to be "sure bets to win it all". Two examples serve to illustrate the point. When the Montreal Canadiens team was not playing as well as one reporter[58] thought they should have been, his reaction was to write of his annoyance with the Habitants saying that "some of them are playing as though they were more interested in playing out the full span for the pension plan than for any other reason." He was particularly incensed with Maurice Richard saying, "We expect tremendous games from Richard. A guy getting his kind of money should be momentous in every movement."

The other case is that of the Toronto Argonauts. It was a perennial joke, at least in Hamilton, that the Argonauts were chosen by so many of their media people to win the Grey Cup almost each year. Toronto is in the midst of a communications glut. Radio, television and a number of newspapers compete with each other in an attempt to curry the favor of the Toronto public. As Argonaut signings were announced, visions of Grey Cup start to be manifested in the public's eye as one journalist competed with the other and attempted to outdo his rival. The wish becomes the father to the thought. Outside of Toronto, the cliche was that the Argonauts always win the Grey Cup in July. When the team failed to win the Cup as they did between the years 1953 to 1972, they were criticized in the media for having "choked" or "folded". A particularly incensed Art Darch, a former guard with the Argonauts, addressed the Hamilton Tiger-Cat Quarterback Club as a member of a panel during the week leading up to the Grey Cup game of 1961. The Argonauts had just concluded a two-game-total-points series with Hamilton, losing the series after having had an 18 point lead after the first game. After being asked why the Argos always folded under pressure, the articulate Darch lashed out at the media for making the Argonaut players the scapegoat year in year out. He stated that perhaps they, the writers, did not have the courage to tell their readers that they had been wrong in their assessment of the team's talent before the season began. He mentioned that he personally could not recall one player saying that the team would win the Grey Cup. The public's expectations had been shaped by the press.

One of the problems associated with the schedule has always been travel. In the years immediately prior to the expansion of 1967, the train had been used as the main means of transportation by most teams in the NHL. While the schedule of the National Hockey League had not appreciably changed from 1950, the style and speed of travel have, as have the distances involved. When the seventy game schedule was effected, the problems associated with travel were only amplified:

> It's possible to view the lot of the professional hockey player and then come away with the eyes unbesmirched by red rings and the handkerchief hardly sodden with a damp salt of tears. It's almost possible to recognize that the hockey player earns his weighty recompense on the ice as well as off it. For instance, the Maple Leafs jiggled through the night to Boston last evening. Sometime this afternoon, they unload there for to-night's engagement with the Bruins. It's their third success-ive night on the Pullman and to-morrow night they'll board it again for the long creep to Montreal. Thursday night will be spent on a train to Toronto, Saturday night on a train to Chicago and Sunday night on a train from Chicago. In fact, the next fourteen nights will see the Leafs spend ten nights on the tracks. This is better than average for a railroad man who has the added advantage that he's not compelled to be beaten about the ears by sticks each time he reaches the end of the line. Leafian reward for absorbing stout knocks in Detroit Sunday was a dash to

> a station in a bus and an overnight liver-shaking to Toronto. By 8:30 a.m. yesterday, they spent nine hours with their kiddies who were on the verge of recognizing the family resemblance when it was time to catch the train to Boston at 6 p.m. The kiddies have another chance next Friday morning. It's not always possible when they are at home to catch up on the week's newspapers or to even observe that the wives have changed a bit.[59]

While air transportation has cut down the travel time involved between cities, the National Hockey League has expanded geographically as well as numerically. Prior to expansion the farthest west that a team would have to travel was to Chicago and Detroit. With the 1967 expansion teams travelled regularly to the Pacific coast areas of Oakland and Los Angeles and later Vancouver. In the 1970-71 season, the Vancouver Canucks schedule included five days when the team played four games, travelled a total of 6,707 air miles on "nine separate flights, 10 bus trips to and from airports, plus two three hour time zone changes with the accompanying disruption of eating and sleeping routines."[60] Such conditions would naturally result in fatigue and a minimizing of the players' talent. As noted prior to expansion during the days of train travel, "It's necessary while all this is going on to win more than you lose because this is not the day and age of sport for sport's sake."[61]

In addition to the pressure of travel, the player could be traded "from one team to another at a moment's notice, packing family and belongings and moving overnight."[62]

Family life could be disrupted because it revolved around the sport. What would be considered holidays for others were times for the playing of regularly scheduled games for the players. For some it could mean "spending Christmas as Mother and Father in some strange city and trying to explain to kids how Santa Clause visits the Newark Slap Shots, say, on December 20 instead of December 25."[63] The pressure of the season extended to the family in other ways. Wives, in order to allow their husband to rest undisturbed prior to a game, found that they had to

> tip-toe around the house . . . arrange for competent babysitters, cook 10 different meals at 10 different times that day and arrive at the game outwardly composed. Then we sit and watch with anxiety as our husbands earn every penny of their "big" contracts, not knowing until the final buzzer if the evening will end commiserating over a loss or celebrating over a win.[64]

Money had always been an area of concern between players and the owners. When the National Hockey Association was formed in 1909, the salary limit for each team was $5,000. By 1937, the maximum salary for an individual player was $7,000. The minimum for a player in 1967 was $7,500. But if the players' lot was improving, there was the generally held notion that it wasn't improving in relation to that of the owners. During the sixties, the clubs were playing to capacity audiences in most rinks in the league. It was felt by the clubs that if revenues were to be increased, the funds could come from the untapped potential of a national American television exposure. To that end, the NHL announced that expansion of the league would take place commencing in the 1967-68 season. The cities named were: Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Future years were to see Buffalo, Vancouver, New York and Atlanta enter the League. One item became evident as expansion was announced: the League needed players, not only for the National League teams but also in the minor professional circuits so as to allow a flow of developing talent into the NHL.

In the years immediately prior to expansion, the signing of Bobby Orr was to have an effect on players' salaries. The Boston Bruins had first noticed Orr as a twelve year old in 1960. Two years later, Orr was signed by the Bruins and sent to their Junior team in Oshawa.

> The publicity mills began to grind out copy, and year by year in the Canadian amateurs Orr got better and better. Boston gloatingly passed the word to the hometown loyalists that Moses would be on hand shortly, just as soon as he became old enough to acquire a work permit.[65]

When Orr turned eighteen, his father hired Alan Eagleson to represent the young player in contract negotiations. Eagleson recounted:

> Happ Emms, the Bruins General Manager at the time kept saying that he wasn't going to meet with any lawyer. Well, hell, we had them. The Bruins had been selling

> Bobby like anything in Boston. We had the threat of letting Bobby finish his schooling and play for the Canadian National team if they didn't come up with a good contract.[66]

Orr did get a "good contract"; "a two year deal between $55,000 and $100,000 with a $25,000 signing bonus."[67]

Between the signing of Orr and the expansion of the League to twelve teams emerged the Players' Association as an instrument to achieve more benefits for the pressures of playing in the National Hockey League. An instrument has been defined as a "purposeful human organization for achieving some practical end . . . . (It is) aggressive, flexible, innovative, often both efficient and ruthless."[68] From the owners perspective, the forming of the Association could not have come at a more inopportune time. As far as the players were concerned, the timing was perfect:

> With expansion there was money around. The new teams paid $1,000,000 to draft from the rosters of the original six and they had to follow up their investment by signing the guys they drafted. Expansion doubled the number of jobs to 240. I represented 180 of those players, by default as much as anything since there was no legal competition in the field. I had eighteen of twenty Bruins, nineteen of twenty on Pittsburgh. What happened was that a player like Bobby Baun, who wasn't even protected by Toronto, went from twenty thou a year to thirty when he was drafted by Oakland. You had rookies going from twelve thou to twenty, which is what Baun was making the year before after ten years in the League. It was the old philosophy of supply and demand.[69]

With the weight of the players solidly behind the Association and the circumstances as they were, the group met with some immediate successes although "the players were frightened of getting traded if they joined the Association at first."[70] Worthwhile increases in salary were described by players who had hitherto signed readily. There were too many arguments that they could use in addition to their skill; Bobby Orr's contract, the Canadian National team, expansion.

> If you argued about money when I first came up nine years ago, they said "screw you," and sent you down to the minors. Bobby wasn't scared of management, and that revolutionized the whole game. We figured if he can do it, why not us? Hell, I got a ten-to-eleven thousand dollar raise the year after Bobby signed.[71]

Another of Orr's team mates was in agreement:

> When I first came up, you had to play ball or they'd bury you in the minors . . . . Everyone was leery of that. The Association gives kids security.[72]

In mid-1967, the minimum salary of the NHL was raised to $10,000 from $7,500 and by the end of 1968, a major medical plan was implemented along with an agreement to reassess the NHL Pension Plan. Eagleson noted that until the Association "started to apply a little muscle in our bargaining, the NHL had followed its traditions of refusing to accept any responsibility for the players' welfare once they'd exhausted their usefulness on the ice."[73] Much of the "muscle" was applied by using the existence of the Canadian National team as an alternative. The NHL through its expansion was particularly vulnerable in the area of player needs. With no other established "major" professional league in existence, Eagleson used the educational advantages of the National team as his wedge. He quoted statistics which indicated that in American football, seventy-five per cent of the players were university graduates; in baseball, sixty per cent. He stated that the NHL figure was ten per cent and further that only seventeen per cent had graduated from high school.[74] He quoted Henri Richard as saying:

> Most of us players don't have too much education because we quit school to play hockey. When we went into the office to sign our contracts, the club had lawyers and accountants everywhere -- and we had only ourselves. We were never prepared for any of these business deals.[75]

Eagleson used the lever of education successfully when he was advising Carl Brewer. In 1963, in the midst of stalemated negotiations with the Toronto Maple Leafs, Brewer enrolled at McMaster University and made it known that he intended to play with their Inter-collegiate football team. Faced with the prospect of an injured Brewer, the Maple Leafs negotiated an acceptable contract. Brewer was simply too valuable to lose. Since the Canadian National team offered players the opportunity to complete their university, or high school, training and combine a good level of hockey, a number of good players were choosing it as an alternative to the NHL. At a time when players were needed by the NHL, the Canadian National team posed a threat to the National Hockey League which was being criticized for the rapid dilution of the quality of play. When the National team concept was abandoned as a result of Canada's withdrawal from International hockey in 1970, the Players' Association had lost a significant lever. Notwithstanding, the NHL announced in 1971 that a program was planned with the bilingual University of Ottawa. To commence in 1972, the course would allow for credit or non-credit courses. Two six week periods were to be set aside in the summer and any NHL player attending the University would have "half of his tuition and living expenses paid by the Club."[76]

According to Clarence Campbell, because of all these above mentioned factors, "salaries in the Eastern Division have increased over-all by 56 per cent since expansion. In the Western Division the increase has been 26 per cent."[77] With the coming into operation of the World Hockey Association in 1972-73, it was announced that the average NHL contract had increased by thirty-five per cent over the previous year. More than that, however, the salaries of some players were becoming out of total perspective with the rest of society. Bobby Hull left the Chicago Black Hawks to sign a $2.75 million contract with the Winnipeg Jets of the World Hockey Association. Other players, Cheevers, Parent, Tremblay, Sanderson and Howe were later announced to have signed "million dollar" contracts.

The newly conferred image of wealth was prominent in the sports pages and magazines. One was liable to read a story entitled: "Ron Stewart, Ranger's Businessman on Skates,"[79] or of a press conference to "introduce you to Dave Keon, the Man. What we call the total package. The name Dave Keon generates excitement."[80] Bob Woolf, an agent representing Derek Sanderson, would be quoted as saying:

> Orr is the best player in hockey. Sanderson gets just as much ink on color alone. More ink. He only scored eighteen goals last year, but the average American thinks Derek's a superstar and that puts him in line for the money on the outside.[81]

Almost each day, the sports pages of newspapers carried newspaper accounts of the earnings of golfers or tennis players or contract disputes or player strikes, even of athletes who refused to be interviewed unless they were paid money in advance. Not getting it, they remained silent and "just sat there staring at the camera, refusing to utter a single word."[82] Headlines proclaimed that "Stars of Those Sports Celebrities Dinners May Be There For Cash, Not Sweet Charity."[83] It appeared that the spectator was being asked to subsidize the whole process which was making "instant millionaires of many athletes."[84] The

Toronto Maple Leafs announced that in the event they made the Stanley Cup play-offs in 1972, (they did not) ticket prices would increase to "$13.20 for box and rail seats . . . a far cry from last year when the team charged $7.70 for its most expensive seat."[85]

All was not done without criticism. In Saskatoon, a Quebec minister announced that he would ask the United Church of Canada to repudiate "the excessive salaries now being paid to many professional hockey players. This is wrong and presents an obscene image of our nation in a hurting world."[86] Even the National Hockey League Players' Association came in for some criticism as that organization announced that it had accepted a "$500,000 guarantee from the Licensing Corporation of America to handle players' endorsements over the next five years."[87] It appeared that the "instrument" was becoming institutionalized and concerned with perpetuating itself in "devoting increasing energy to self-inflating projects of a public relations-nature."[88]

It appeared that the integrity of professional sport was eroding. Rather than govern one's actions by what was "good for the game", procedures seemed to be in concert with what would make the most money.

> There is a disease in sports now . . . . Integrity is disappearing. Contracts mean nothing; not between owner and player or owner and fan. Players jump

> teams. Teams jump cities. And all the while the money flows as from a cornucopia.[89]

Meschery was speaking of the sport he was most familiar with, basketball, but his comments were pertinent to the North American sport scene. He wrote that the "business psyche", by its invasion into sport, made it "a mere showcase to keep them (the athletes) before the public like an actor's guest appearance on a television talk show."[90] Much of the emphasis on money came about as the result of competition between two rival leagues, in basketball, the NBA and the ABA, in hockey, the NHL and the WHA. The influx of new franchises and the prospects of television revenue brought into prominence "owners (who) have no real commitment to sport. Now instead of paying a player for the job he can do for the team, the owners pay him for his publicity and public relations value."[91] The same type of comment has been made in writing of the owners of the Toronto Maple Leafs after Conny Smyth's tenure. Describing Harold Ballard and Stafford Smythe who had bought the controlling interest in the Toronto hockey club from Conny Smythe, Jack Batten wrote:

> The new Maple Leaf bosses were high rollers, big spenders, profit conscious manipulators. They had a hot property on their hands and they knew how to make it pay off. They were money men. They represented a break from the old Maple Leafs tradition, the tradition of one man, Conny Smythe. He had always preached style and class in his hockey operations and he was satisfied with whatever profit

> his business approach yielded. The new Leafs' owners were more contemporary men, and they played to perfection the modern game of marketing their product to draw out the last dollar, the largest profits, the biggest audience. By all today's standards they were masters at their business.[92]

The general sport situation was such that it was described as a troubled time.[93] Delineations and distinctions were offered to help interpret the contemporary situation.

> Nowadays, it (sport) exists on at least three levels. There is first True Sport, the manifestation of man's seemingly innate urge to play. True Sport is organized for and often by participants and is essentially a private matter like eating or making love. High Sport is True Sport raised to the level of art by the talent, even genius of its participants. It is public in the sense that all art is public (great music, painting, literature or sport is incomplete until that time when it is displayed, judged and acclaimed.) Finally there is Big Sport in which elements of True and High Sport are present but are modified by other consideration, notably commerce and politics.[94]

Milt Dunnell[95] appears to be one of the people who consider that professional sport should be classified as Big Sport.

> The public attitude towards professional athletes definitely has changed. The hero worship is not as wide-eyed as it once was. Athletes now are represented by lawyers and agents who bargain for the big buck. This has been something of an awakening. Strikes and threats of strikes have revealed the athlete as another workman bargaining for more money and better working conditions. In other words, much of the

> idealism has been dissipated. There was a time when fans chipped in to buy athletes (who were earning 10 times their own income) new cars, tractors for their farms -- all kinds of gifts. You don't hear much of that anymore.

Other commentators continued to see the professional athlete linked with money. Lew Hayman was of the opinion that "a professional is one that accepts pay for services."[96] Milt Schmidt simply stated that "in hockey language a pro is a player who has signed a professional contract. The public attitude toward professional athletes is no different to-day than when I started my career. Pro athletes, then as to-day were idols of the sports fans."[97] To Harold Ballard, the athlete's career was short and so he had to "make hay while the sun shines . . . . The professional to-day is a person who takes a large sum of money and declares himself a professional."[98] Syl Apps maintained that there has been a considerable change in people's acceptance of the professional athlete.

> The public attitude when I started playing hockey in 1936 was not really as favourable as it is to-day. I believe a great number of people felt that professional sport was not a very legitimate operation and the general opinion of professional athletes was rather low.[99]

Apps stated that while in 1936 he believed a professional to be one who "received money in a recognized sport . . . . I would clarify that to-day and say that a professional is one whose chief means of livelihood depends on the payment for his athletic services."[100]

For Alan Eagleson,[101] the "Pro was the ultimate in sports and my first experiences with a professional hockey player involved Sylvannus Apps." Probably as a result of his work with the players' association and his work as a representative for many athletes, Eagleson submitted: "I do think that the true professional is a person who uses his athletic ability as a means to an end rather than an end in itself."

King Clancy had the notion that "to-day, athletes are held in high esteem and given a high place in our community. In the past, they were treated like drifters and bums."[102] To Jim Gregory, the "professional is one who receives compensation for his professional abilities and is paid for performing these athletic skills."[103] To Jake Gaudaur,[104] there was the belief that there can be more than compensation involved in being a professional athlete. The level of excellence of one's performance also came into play. The fact that an athlete plays at the highest calibre of sport in the land and is paid for it contributes to his professionalism. Further:

> The quality of the player always has and always will be the essential factor here but it is in itself not enough in my opinion. A league and the teams which comprise it must be totally professional not only in terms of play of its players and coaches but in terms of their over-all

> modus operandi. With so many alternative ways to spend their leisure dollars to-day fans expect a sport not only to *be* professional but to *look* professional . . . . I would express the view that having an active, meaningful and responsible Players' Association is a manifestation both of being and looking professional to the sports fan.

Conny Smythe has probably done more to ensure that the National Hockey League would become the powerful organization that it is to-day than any other owner who has ever been associated with that League. Yet he scarcely hints at the connection between money and the professional. One can almost visualize the memories rushing through his mind when he was asked whether public attitudes had changed from the time when he first started his career in professional sport. His answer,[105] "as night is to day" is borne out within the confines of this study. Even then, he said, it was difficult to get amateurs to turn professional because the "amateurs were paid as much or more" and because of the "low standing of pro athletes". To Smythe,

> A pro works and knows his job -- all pros (good ones) are amateurs. Most old pros were hard drinking, hard living, tough athletes. Modern pros class themselves with the other professions -- live, act and work like people in the professions and most of them contribute accordingly to the betterment of society.

The notion of dedication and mental approach with well-planned and disciplined execution is a commonly held opinion of the core of professionalism. The player who is prepared mentally and physically to fulfill his promise sometimes executes with such ease that he appears to be moving effortlessly. A Frank Mahovlich, Gordie Howe, Jean Beliveau, Bobby Orr, Jackie Parker or Russ Jackson can burst on the scene and be described as an "overnight success". The term is misleading as one performer indicated. Looking back to visualize the hard work and practise that was necessary to perfect the moves that were being described as natural, the performer was apt to think out loud that he had worked for many years to perfect his technique and if that was overnight success, it was the longest night of his life.[106] It is this notion of work and dedication and approach which seems to be the essence of another group of opinions about the concept of professionalism. The Minnesota North Stars' Tom Reid saw the professional as "a person willing to make sacrifices and self disciplines himself to reach a goal. He does not always have the most talent but he must have the determination to better himself."[107] Linebacker and defensive signal caller for the Hamilton Tiger-Cats, Bob Krouse, saw the professional as a "person whose life is dedicated to his sport all year 'round. He/she is an athlete whose ability is of high quality and skill level. There is a feeling of making his sport a source of income in order to carry on in it."[108] Former Scottish International Graham Leggat mentioned that the professional athlete was "not merely an athlete who gets paid for performing. Instead, "professional" applies to his attitude, his approach."[109]

All these feelings are nicely summed up by Ralph Sazio:

> A professional is a man dedicated to his work. In his early days, because of economic conditions in his background, he may play for the financial gains that he may receive but he reaches a point where his dedication is beyond financial gains. This also holds true as far as pride and motivation is concerned. The true professional is the one who is concerned with his performance being executed better than anyone else. He has to have God-given natural ability; he has to have skill which has to be ready to perform as one does on the stage or the football field, the basketball court, the golf course, etc.[110]

Most certainly, many of the opinions expressed related to the classification "High Sport". No doubt, the elements of High Sport have been shown so often, through the medium of television, in the form of Big Sport that it has helped lead to the development of the "cult of the professional". "In its purest sense, professionalism conveys a notion of skill, pride, dedication, a reaching for perfection . . . a base of class."[111] There are those who say that the athlete has developed his skill to an art form through his persistence and determination. To watch the perfectly coordinated fluidity of movement gives one the sense of grace and beauty.

> But what is sport anyway? An art, an amusement. We professionals are the motivators. We are the ones who inspire. We sell people

> something they have for the rest of their lives -- moments, memories -- and they are better in health, mind and spirit. So I do contribute. I give people pleasure and happiness.[112]

Authors with their sense of perception can sometimes capture the substance of an idea or a notion or a concept and express it within a framework so as to portray an image. The professional could be described as

> . . . DiMaggio drifting back so effortlessly under a fly ball. Rocket Richard in front of the net with the goal keeper at his mercy. Willy Mays leaping high against the wall and coming down with the ball. Sometimes a man will touch it just once in his lifetime -- like Don Larsen when he pitched the perfect game in the World Series. Sometimes there's courage in it, like Bobby Baun when he came out and scored that winning Stanley Cup goal on a broken leg.[113]

Pleasure and happiness and dreams and prestige and victory were all part of the mystique of the "pro" by 1972. The amateur was by then someone who was considered to be playing "for fun because he is not good enough to play professionally."[114] Writing in 1969, the Report of the Task Force on Sport affirmed that impression: "When you describe someone to-day as an amateur, you are slurring his competence."[115] The feeling was expressed that "the word has always been that amateurs play sport for the love of it. Listen, Professionals love it just as much, probably more so. We put our lives on the line for sport.[116] In the past the distinction was made that the amateur played for the "love" of the game while the professional played for the money. The distinction was carried farther to rationalize that since the athlete was paid, he was working and work was something that you did because of necessity rather than enjoyment or love. People did what they enjoyed as a diversion not as a requirement. Yet by 1969, it was possible to see that the notion of "love of game" was emerging within the limits of the concept of the professional. The Task Force Report redefined an Amateur as "one who persues excellence in sport, observing the rules of competition and with a feeling of good sportsmanship for his competitors regardless of race or creed." In itself, this was a departure from the commonly held concept but the interesting feature for purposes of this study was the definition of the professional. He was designated as "an athlete who may fit all the requisites of the definition of the amateur athlete but who persues sport as his prime source of livelihood.[117]

The definition may have been more of a case of the "wish being father to the thought" in light of Canada's international hockey problems but it does serve to illustrate that a concerted effort was being attempted to remove from the public's thinking, the concept of the amateur as "the beginner, the dabbler, the dilettante."[118]

A number of factors had united to lead the public to this conclusion. One was the commercialization of amateur sport. By 1945, the NHL was paying the CAHA a sum for each player drafted.[119] The CAHA also had an operational definition of "amateur" as one who was "not actively engaged in professional sport."[120] It was soon evident that the CAHA was not content in operating under the traditional concept of amateurism. In the midst of complaining that "the greatest absurdities resulted from attempts to operate professional hockey under amateur robes",[121] the CAHA announced its intent to use contracts in the Senior and Junior hockey series. It conceded that the move would make them "frankly professional".[122] Clubs were to be limited to the signing of ten players, the contract running for one year beyond the season signed in. "Because of the master agreement between the CAHA and the National Hockey League, the contracts of the former will be subject to NHL contracts. Despite the one year clause, junior players will automatically become free agents when becoming over-age."[123] In the meantime, a system of NHL sponsorship had been effected. Commenting on the development, Clarence Campbell stated:

> There has grown up a system of professional training assistance akin to apprenticeship which is called sponsorship. Under this arrangement, each professional club is permitted to sponsor two amateur clubs under terms mutually agreeable. These sponsorships range all the way from very modest informal agreements to full scale operation and control akin to professional teams. These sponsored teams produce 95% of the players who find their way onto the rosters of professional clubs . . . . It is obvious that professional

> hockey is in very large measure responsible for the development of its own playing material.[124]

It was an accepted fact that amateur players, particularly in the CAHA Senior series, were being paid, though not to the point where hockey was a full time endeavor. There were two distinct groups of teams and players in the, OHA, the one being paid substantial salaries for their hockey playing, the other being paid very little or nothing. In 1950, the CAHA announced its plans to cater to the two segments. A "Major" Senior Series was to be initiated for the 1950-51 season. Teams from the Western Canada, the Ontario, Quebec, Maritimes and Cape Breton Senior leagues were to play for the new Alexander Trophy. Separating these "more powerful subsidized circuits to which high salaries give a professional tint from the weaker simon-pure leagues"[125] allowed the latter to still compete for the Allan Cup. The minimum salary in the new Major Series was set at one thousand dollars and players were signed to contracts similar to the NHL.[126] There seemed to be little contrary reaction to the news although the president of the British Columbia Amateur Hockey Association protested because the teams in his province were not included.

> He said that his teams were prepared to meet the rules and regulations except the one thousand dollar a year minimum salary. It was the practise of B.C. teams to offer jobs in lieu of money. "Our clubs just

> can't pay a player one thousand dollars a year," he added.[127]

While one thousand dollars was the minimum, there was no maximum. Salaries to some players were so good that various owners in minor professional league cities were complaining that some amateurs were earning more than the pros.[128] As an "amateur", Jean Beliveau played with the Quebec Aces for two seasons earning the salary of "something over twenty thousand dollars"[129] each season. Even at that sum, Beliveau the idol of Quebec was worth it.

> He stayed in Quebec City for two seasons. Record crowds flocked to worship him and spend money that helped to pay for the lavish new Coliseum, a bowl devoid of posts seating up to 10,338 people and frequently bettered that total with standees during Beliveau's stay.
> In Beliveau's first year with the Quebec Aces when they operated in the old Quebec Senior Hockey League, the team drew 281,000 people in a city of 225,000. In his second year, which was the 1952-53 season, they drew an astonishing 386,334 fans in thirty league games and six play-offs, one of the crowds totalling 13,791. In the three years after Beliveau turned professional (so to speak) with the Canadiens, the Aces drew 255,000 the first year, 103,000 the second and barely 90,000 the third.[130]

Beliveau had signed a "B" form with the Canadiens giving that team his playing rights if he chose to play professional. In the summer of 1953, the Quebec League, some say with the persuasion of the Canadiens, voted to become professional. Beliveau had the choice of signing with Montreal or playing amateur hockey with another team and then being eligible for the draft where he would most likely be chosen by a team outside of Quebec. He chose to join the Canadiens.

It was evident that a new concept of amateurism was in the process of evolving in Canada. When it was first noticeable is hard to say but the impression that it connoted was being expressed in terms of the professional. The CAHA had already expressed its concept of "amateur" as one who was not actively engaged in professional sport where traditionally the professional was an athlete who earned his livelihood from his sport. At the opposite end of the continuum was the athlete who earned nothing from his sport. The new breed which was evolving was in neither category. Lionel Conacher, newly elected member of the Parliament of Canada called for a new definition of amateur in light of these developments. He said that the Olympic Games definition, which branded as professional "any sportsman who ever took money for playing, was ludicrous. The player to-day has rightfully insisted upon payment for his services. There is an important difference between that man and the one who depends on his playing for a livelihood.[132]

Conacher's feelings seemed to have general support. Jim Coleman, writing in 1946, mentioned the case of the Montreal Royals hockey club. His comments were written in a "tongue-in-cheek" vein but nonetheless they served to indicate the general feeling towards the various clubs and, Montreal, in particular, who were

> operating as amateurs despite the fact that many of the players in the Quebec League have found it more profitable to stay there than play in the American Hockey League where the salaries are only a cut lower than those in the National League. It's about time someone emancipated those poor hockey players and permitted them to call themselves professionals. After all they must shudder when they think of the day when they will be forced to confess to their children that they were mere amateurs. Let us remove the stigma of the word "amateur" from their names.[133]

When Avery Brundage complained of the increasing inroads of money into sport, he predicted that hockey would be removed from all future Olympics "because of the inroads of professional sports promotors."[134] To former "amateur" and "professional" athlete Ted Reeve, it signalled the opportunity for a rebuttal.

> Avery Brundage, who seems to be a well meaning sort of a Dodo, except that he apparently thinks that just because he pays his way over to the Olympics he should run them, gave off with his own views of amateurism. He said and we quote distastefully: "Sport is fun, amusement and recreation. The minute money enters into it, it's work, just as much as bricklaying." To us, this proves the man is pixilated on two counts. In the first place, we always had just as much fun playing lacrosse in a good year when we might get a buck or two out of it as we did when we were playing for free. Secondly, we have worked on jobs with plenty of bricklayers and they always seemed to have a pretty good time too. A fast day's work with a healthy bunch of rooters who are making enough to stave off the grocer and have enough left over for a little brew can be as much fun, amusement and recreation as a good afternoon on the wing-line or at cover-point.[135]

Brundage was not a popular man in Canada. In 1947, the citizens of Ottawa presented Barbara Ann Scott with the gift of a car when the youthful skater had won the European and World's championships in figure skating. The gift had been cleared with the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada but Avery Brundage, citing Olympic regulations that no gift should exceed thirty-five dollars, declared that the young Canadian would lose her amateur status. She would be ineligible for the 1948 Olympic Games. Barbara Ann returned the car saying: "it would be selfish of me to keep the car and lose a chance to bring honour to Canada."[136] In 1948, "Canada's Sweetheart" added the Olympic title to her European and World's and on May 13, the Mayor of Ottawa once again presented her with the same automobile, this time painted blue instead of the original yellow. The Canadian Amateur Figure Skating Association ruled that Barbara Ann Scott remained an amateur in good standing since the automobile was not a prize for winning a competition and therefore was outside of the jurisdiction of that body.[137]

Between the two extremes of the "Big Time" and the "stigma of amateurism", the term "semi-professional" was being used more often. In itself this was a descriptive term in that the norm "professional" was used as the basis rather than "amateur". To have described an athlete as "semi-amateur" would have been to unquestionably malign his ability; semi-professional at least connoted a degree of proficiency since the term professional was synonymous with a standard of high skill. One early definition of the term "semi-pros" was: "athletes who operate as amateurs and ape the pros."[138] By 1950, the definition seemed to be one which offered the suggestion of good value for low cost. An advertisement for Canadian Tire Stores offered "Semi Pro Hockey Outfits . . . exceptional value at $8.75."[139]

As a point of interest a case could be well made in equating the status of "professional", "semi-professional" and "amateur" to the football situation in Canada. Generally speaking, the impression of many people in the country is that the American National Football League is the epitome of professionalism; the Canadian Football League, using the NFL as the norm, is categorized as semi-professional, while levels below the CFL are held to be amateur. Looking at the analogy within the Canadian Football League itself a distinction can be made in terms of the professional, semi-professional and amateur with respect to the classification of players. Officially, there are "Imports and Non-imports"; pragmatically, they are Americans and Canadians respectively. There are two basic divisions among the Canadians, the American-trained and the Canadian-trained. As early as 1932, it was reported that in a game between Regina and Winnipeg, the Regina amateurs were better than the Winnipeg amateurs and the Regina Americans were better than the Winnipeg Americans. Even at that time, American was being equated with professional and Canadian with amateur.

The Calgary Stampeders started the trend towards the hiring of former players from the All-American Conference, a recognized professional league in the United States. When the Calgary team went through an undefeated season and won the Grey Cup, other teams sought out these Americans, a task made much easier since the Conference had disbanded and many players were available. The American players were glowingly described as "professionals" while the Canadian, more and more, was being designated as a "homebrew". The game between Winnipeg and Edmonton in 1950, Winnipeg having a preponderence of the American "pros", was described as "old Pros against a bunch of Joes . . . poised, business-like, and they exude class."[140] As restrictions on the number of imports were increased there was a concerted effort to circumvent the spirit if not the intent of the regulations. American players were encouraged to take out citizenship papers. With this being at least a five year process, a faster remedy was in order and teams began to actively search for personnel in the United States who were born, or their parents were born in Canada but moved away at an early age, and had their football training in the American environment. The Hamilton Tiger-Cats owed much of their success in the sixties to the fact that they were able to play a sizeable number of "Canadianized Americans", including Tom Dublinski, Vince Scott, Hardiman Cureton, Ron Ray, Gerry

McDougall, Bronko Nagurski, Ralph Goldston, Ellison Kelly, Ted Page, Bill Waite, Tommy-Joe Coffey, Angelo Mosca and others. When legislation was passed in 1965 to limit each team to fourteen imports and three naturalized Canadians among its roster, a furore erupted, incidentally resulting in the formation of the CFL Players' Association. The controversy also resulted in the re-defining of the distinction of the classification of players. As a result, the differentiation between an "Import" and a "Non-Import" was made on the basis of playing experience rather than nationality.[141]

At the same time, the trend towards the Americanization of the game was proceeding at the mangerial level to the point where in 1972, each of the coaches and seven of the nine general managers in the CFL were American. The people who were part of the decision making process, being American, naturally related to their past experiences and as an alternative to the "legislated Canadians", high school camps were conducted and young players invited attend. Also invited were many representatives from American universities who after watching a youngster in a football situation might offer him a scholarship to the American institution. The idea seemed to be that if the clubs could not get any more Americans because of the League regulations, the next best course of action would be to arrange for American training for the Canadian player. Thus existed, in reality, three levels of players in the Canadian Football League, Americans (professional), American trained Canadians (semi-professional) and Canadians (amateur). The same notions held by the public concerning professional-amateur status were carried over into the CFL. In a team meeting room, a coach, when diagramming preparations for an up-coming game, was liable to circle the areas where Canadian personnel played and designate them as "weak spots". In trying to encourage one of his players against his opposition, he might say "I know you can handle him, he's only a Canadian." In describing a player to the media he might state: "When I first came up and I saw (player) in action, I was surprised to find out he was a Canadian. He played just like an American."

The media for its part played a role in the promotion of the myth. In newspaper columns, reporters would automatically refer to areas where Canadian personnel were involved as "suspect"; a television commentator in describing a good play by a "young" Canadian player would be likely to remark on the merits of the player ending his description with an inflection of surprised pride, "and you know, he's a Canadian!" The concrete manifestation of the stereotyping would exhibit itself in the lineup of an individual team. With very few exceptions, team positions which require skill, speed, reaction and quick thinking, relatively speaking, would be manned by Americans. The positions relying mainly on strength or simple execution and raw ability were generally filled by Canadians. Since 1969, with the retirement of Russ Jackson, there has not been a Canadian quarterback in the position of a "starter" with any team in the country, nor is there likely to be one under the existing regulations and situation. Seldom will a running back be a Canadian and be a member of the starting backfield; if there is one, and it is unlikely that there will be more than one, rarely will he do much of the running with the ball. Almost never will there be a Canadian at the middle linebacker or interior linebacker positions. If the team plays a preponderence of man-to-man defense, it's likely that the cornerbacks will be American. Canadians will be found almost certainly in the position of "centre" ("all he has to do is snap the ball") and wide receiver. Tight end seems to also be a "Canadian position" and any number of places on the line. The positions mentioned are relatively common throughout each of the CFL clubs. It remains for the coaching staff of each team to discuss the best combination of the remaining talent according to their needs. But, in general, substitute the generally accepted notion towards "amateur" for Canadian, "semi-professional" for American trained, and "professional" for American, and one would have a better understanding of the attitudes present in the game of football in Canada.

So it was that in the post-war era, the impression of the amateur athlete was a poor one. To many Canadians, he wasn't paid because he wasn't good enough to be paid. He wasn't on television because he wasn't good enough to be on television. In a capitalistic society where the value of an object was measured in financial terms, it was natural to assume that if no dollar signs were attached, it had no value. And yet in a great many European countries, the concept of amateurism was to undergo change during the post-war period. Many countries were to use the forum of world sport as a means of conveying the benefits of their system, their way of life. Because sport involved so many opportunities for international exchanges, countries began to subsidize their athletes in order to allow them to have the time necessary to develop their skills. The union of the two concepts, the nation and the amateur, was first noticed with any international impact in the post-war period when, in 1945, the Moscow Dynamos soccer team journeyed to England to play some "friendly" matches of football. The Dynamos were all characterized as "amateurs" while the English teams were "professional". It was to be an opportunity to promote friendship between the two Second War allies.

> Everyone was eager to welcome them -- in fact 258,000 saw the four matches. They themselves were great players whom Englishmen were ready to admire for their own sakes. When the Russian Captain on landing declared "We are ambassadors of sport", it seemed indeed that

> sport was once more coming into its own as the supreme maker of friendships. But it soon became obvious that the cliche meant nothing, and that the Russians did not intend to be friendly; or rather, it was their official policy not to be friendly, for the individual players had little chance to show what they thought or felt. Misunderstandings were deliberately staged: our arrangements, our play, our rules, were criticized; our hospitality was rejected. Everything was clearly done with a view to propaganda at home and in short the purpose of the visit soon turned out to be purely political.[142]

The Russians* not only defeated the English at the sport that the English took pride in calling their own, they weathered a brief attack against their amateurism. They maintained that there were no such classifications of "amateur" and "professional" in the Soviet Union, there were only athletes. The USSR maintained further that unless her athletes were declared to be within the accepted notion of the term "amateur", she would refuse to enter teams in the forthcoming European Football Championships at Oslo and future Olympic Games. The state subsidized athletes were declared to be eligible and the Soviet Union promptly entered and won the European football championships at Oslo in 1946. The advent of the "National Amateur" simply paralleled developments which had taken place in commercial sport. In commercial sport, money was paid to the athlete to allow him to have time available in order to develop his skill. The "national amateur" had his livelihood subsidized in order to give him time to develop his athletic skill. In both cases their living needs were being provided for within the framework of the political system. The end result was the same, if the methods were somewhat different but in the case of one athlete, he was characterized as a professional and therefore ineligible for Olympic competition while the other was an amateur and therefore eligible.

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*Throughout the remainder of this study, the terms USSR, Russian, and Soviets will be used interchangeably to connote the official name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

To the average Canadian in 1954, a professional was a "pro" while an amateur was nothing more than an "amateur". There was no great mystery involved. The professional "exuded class" while the amateur was the novice, the inexperienced. The general notion of European hockey at that time was that it was of a poor standard. After all, had not Canada been able to send her amateur teams to Europe and win regularly? Indeed Canada had and would until one by one her various levels of ability were overtaken by her European competition. In 1954, unable to persuade a Senior A team to travel to Europe to Stockholm for the World Amateur Championships, the CAHA authorized the Toronto East York Lyndhursts to represent Canada at the games. The Lyndhursts had done well in winning six games prior to the final game of the series, against the USSR. It was the first time that the Soviet Union had entered a team in world hockey competition, although they had played and defeated the European champion Czechoslovakian team in 1948 by a surprising 6 - 3 score.

> Before the game with the Canadians, one Stockholm newspaper carried a cartoon showing Bobrov sitting at a school desk and a burly Canadian teaching him the A.B.C. of hockey. However the implied flattery of the Canadians proved out of place, and the game ended with the pupils winning 7-2. This was a sensation if there ever was one.[143]

It was a sensation in Canada, too. The Toronto Star asked in a front page banner: How On Earth Did Those Russians Manage To Do This To Our Canadian Boys?"[144]

The consensus of people interviewed by newspapers seemed to be that there were at least fifty teams in Canada which could defeat the Lyndhursts.

> So why was this country represented by our fifty-first or worse team? The main answer seems to be that Canadian hockey has become such a serious business that top-flight amateurs can't afford to play for glory and pocket money abroad. On top of that, the selectors underrated the Russians.[145]

Comments[146] on the Canadian "humiliation" ranged widely. "Happ" Emms termed it a "disgrace". W.A. Hewitt termed it "just one of those things that happened in sport", while Stafford Smythe offered that "they made monkeys out of us." Harry Eisen of the London Free Press commented that Canada should "send its best team into these so-called World hockey tournaments" and if it couldn't, "the wisest course would be to pass them up." The St. John's Daily News suggested that "perhaps its the best thing that could have happened. At least it may wake up the CAHA to the fact that if the Dominion is going to be represented at all in tournaments with other nations, it should be represented by nothing but the best." Very few seemed to criticize the Lyndhursts' performance. The consensus was expressed by Tommy Shields of the Ottawa Citizen: "Canada should be represented by the best or not at all."

In the context of the times, the defeat was an embarassment. It was the era of the "cold war" and Russia, Canada's wartime ally had embarked on a policy of expansion throughout western Europe setting up an "iron curtain". It appeared that the nations of the "free" world had embarked on a policy of containment against the "Red Menace". Korea was still lingering in the minds of many and the spectre of communism a hovering danger. The world had divided itself into two camps led by the USA and the USSR respectively. It was an era when every conceivable opportunity seemed to be used to illustrate the benefits of one "system" over the other. It was within this milieu that sport was becoming an instrument to promote the benefits of a nation's way of life -- some would call it a war without weapons.[147] Thus there was some fear that the Soviets would have films made and distributed through all the movie houses of Europe hailing their new World's Champions. Leaders of professional hockey in Canda were asked their opinions of the situation.[148] Clarence Campbell stated that he did not view the defeat as a calamity: "It might be beneficial in the long run for hockey. Besides, why should we be upset? Do we have to win in everything?" Conny Smythe was not so detached. His answer was to take the Maple Leafs on a tour of the Soviet Union "to show the USSR how the game is really played here and keep the old flag flying." Perhaps Smythe's comment was too jingoistic for Frank Selke of the Montreal Canadiens. He was not interested in sending the Montreal Canadiens "because there were too many nicer places to go." When told of Smythe's answer, the former Maple Leaf employee quipped: "He's been in two wars, I guess he wants to start a third."

The CAHA decided that the Allan Cup champions would be sent to Krefeld, Germany for the 1955 tournament. Foster Hewitt noted that

> all Canadians were counting on them to restore our prestige and national interest had become so feverish that I determined to fly to Krefeld, Germany for the final decisive match against the Russians. Originally, I had intended broadcasting solely for my own CKFH radio station, but the national concern became so keen that Imperial Oil arranged to air it on an all Canada network.[149]

The Penticton V's were chosen to represent Canada and were immediately bolstered with some re-instated professionals. Amid semblances of a national crusade, the V's won all their games including a five to nothing victory over the Soviet Union.

It was to become evident that the Canadian "amateur" who was eligible for the Olympic games had become surpassed by the "national amateur" of the Soviet Union. In the 1956 Olympic Games at Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy, Canada's representatives, the Kitchener-Waterloo Flying Dutchmen, as Allan Cup champions were selected to defend the Olympic title won in 1952 by the Edmonton Mercurys. The team was not intact from its Allan Cup performance. In view of the Olympic regulations, six players were replaced; they had previously been classified as professionals. The Canadian team finished third in the tournament being beaten by the winning Soviet team and the United States as well. Again the cry "Send Our Best" was heard. Grant Warwick the playing coach of the 1955 champion Penticton V's blasted the CAHA for "sending boys to do a man's job."[150] The London _Free Press_ headline read: Dutchman's Loss At Hands of Yanks Shocks Canadians.[151] Maurice Smith of the Winnipeg Free Press offered some sober reflections when he commented:

> One thing is certain, it means a definite lowering again of our hockey prestige, just as the defeat of the Toronto Lyndhursts at the hands of the Russians lowered it. But in this instance, Americans didn't defeat second raters as the Soviets did. The Kitchener-Waterloo Dutchmen are the Allan Cup champions of Canada. As holders of that trophy they are considered the best "amateur" hockey team in the Dominion. And that once meant the world too.[152]

Although her superiority in Olympic competition was of the past, Canada was to show for a number of years that by use of re-instated pros, she was able to compete favorably within the framework of the World tournaments. In 1958, the Whitby Dunlops, in 1959, the Belleville McFarlands, and in 1961, the Trail Smoke Eaters each were victorious in the World tournament. In 1960, the Kitchener team again represented Canada in the Olympic competition and again finished behind the United States which won the Gold Medal. After its defeat, the Kitchener team was sent a telegram by Kingston Alderman George Webb: "From the birthplace of Hockey, I'm going to call for an official day of mourning and ask that our flag be lowered to half-mast. Congratulations for nothing."[153] Webb then sent a telegram to the victorious American team congratulating them and inviting them to play against an NHL team. It was common knowledge that there were few Americans playing in the NHL and this simply re-inforced the notion in people's minds that the quality of play in amateur competition was poor.

The 1961 victory by Trail was a watershed. It was to be the last one for a Canadian team in the World tournament by using re-instated pros. Even with the re-instated pros, there was the feeling among Canadians that they were "over the hill" and "on the way down". In 1962 and 1963, the Galt Terriers and the Trail Smoke Eaters respectively finished second and fourth. It was time for Canada to move into the next phase of its international team make-up, the National Amateur. It was the concept of Rev. David Bauer, a former coach of the St. Michael's College Juniors in the OHA. He suggested that good young players were needed and they could be attracted to the National team by offering an opportunity to play and develop their hockey at a high level while persuing their education at the same time. The new framework was placed under the jurisdiction of the CAHA, a move which appeared to upset the NHL:

> The pros were miffed and startled. Who did the CAHA think they were, setting up a new team without their consent, and furthermore, why did they think they could set up a team with an idealist structure as opposed to the traditional familiar materialistic one? Who was this priest who could induce players to abandon lucrative hockey careers for no more than an ideal? In the course of thirty years, the NHL had learned to talk to players in one language -- money.[154]

It was soon apparent that good promising prospects would be siphoned off from the NHL to the National team but with only six teams in the NHL, the situation was irritating but not serious. In its preparations for the 1964 Olympics, the Nationals played exhibition games with varying degrees of success. As often as not, the spectators in attendance were of the same ethnic background as the European team invited, a sometimes discouraging situation.[155] In other games there was a curiosity about the Nationals; they were not pros nor did they play in any league. There was always the feeling that they were being guaged by the yardstick of the National Hockey League. "Strange as it may sound, it was almost a relief to get out of Canada and begin the European tour. Once there, we were immediately recognized as Canada's team, not just a team from Canada."[156] During the 1964 tournament at Innsbruck, the Nationals surprised many by finishing with five wins and two losses, the same record as Sweden and Czechoslovakia. The USSR, which had defeated the young Canadians by a 3 - 2 score were first with a seven wins and no losses record. Expecting a respectable silver medal, the Canadians were shocked to learn that new rules were implemented during the course of the last game of the tournament. By determining that final standings would be decided by each team's "goals for and goals against average", Canada was awarded fourth place. The good showing by the Nationals and the publicity surrounding the re-alignment of positions with the attendant vilifying of International Ice Hockey President "Bunny" Ahearne, served to tone down the criticism of the team. Most hockey observers in Canada were aware that it was an Olympic year and that in itself was always a source of problems to Canada's hopes to ice a strong team.

Soviet observers were impressed with Canada's team. Seth Martin, the Canadian net-minder was described as the "wonder goalie" and "impenetrable". Arkadi Chernyshav described the Canada - Soviet game as their "hardest won victory". The Canadian team was described as "a she-bear defending her litter: the more you wound her the fiercer she gets." The Soviets had an explanation for the difficult game against the Canadians. Even though these were Olympic Games, it was commented that "several ex-professionals from Ontario found their way into the side, evidently 'by accident'."[157]

But the praise of 1964 soon gave way to criticisms in the following years. In 1965 at Tampere, Finland, the Nationals lost their last three games and posted the weakest showing of a Canadian team to that point. The reaction was critical:

> For almost three months, I read continually in the Canadian press that the National team, and the way it was operated, was wrong, and that there was no way that it would ever work unless the pros took over and gave it their blessing as well as their so-called faultless management.[158]

It was obvious, however, that the National team and the "National amateur" under the handicaps it was forced to function with did not enjoy the confidence of the public. It had not been successful, that is to say, it had not won any titles. "When a team of Junior A All-Stars defeated a team of Russian Nationals in November, 1966, professional hockey men and many in the communications media took delight, as proof of their theory that international hockey was second rate."[159] Prior to the formation of the National team, it was obvious too that the whole operation of selecting Canadian representatives, as they had been conducted, was being maligned because of the contaminating effect on the career of young professional prospects.

> Most of the so-called amateur teams of the past decade have been recruited from reinstated professionals; the majority of them failed to make the grade, at the peak of their careers, in the minor leagues of the lowest category. Some of these are disillusioned and frustrated athletes who do not adhere very strictly to rigid training rules. The National Hockey League teams, which have brilliant superstar Juniors who might help these teams, hesitate to place their players in this environment. As often as not, those responsible for the conditioning of these teams have queer ideas about discipline. They are of little help to the athletes entrusted in their care.[160]

If the National League teams were worried about their players' impressionistic behavior prior to the formation of Father Bauer coached team, they appeared to have less altruistic motives as the expansion of the their league became a reality. Players were needed; the National team concept with its two bases, Winnipeg and Ottawa, represented a drain on player talent at a time it was most needed for the NHL and its minor professional system.

The only dramatic victory that the National team had to its credit during its career was the Centennial tournament in Winnipeg. Soviet publications had a unique view of that occasion. Bazunov wrote:

> The Canadians carried out a rehearsal of the forthcoming championship at home by inviting the best hockey players from all over the world to take part in a tournament held to mark the nation's centenary. They hoped to win and thus restore their tottering image. No effort was spared to boost their idols to the pedestal of glory in the homeland of hockey. Amateur hockey became the concern of all and sundry. The coaches of the national side were given extra-ordinary powers. The press coddled them. University campuses provided training facilities where ambitious soldiers of hockey ready to take on any opponent went through their paces. In short, the Canadians were tired of repeatedly having to answer their compatriot's question, "Why do we lose in Europe?"[161]

Tarosov, the Soviet National coach had this comment:

> . . . In Winnipeg we were mostly thinking ahead, about our future battles in Vienna. I am not saying all this to ease our grief because we lost. We were really and truly happy the Canadians came out on top. Even if we had been five times stronger, we still could not have won the Centennial tournament. If the reader only knew how the Canadian Hockey Federation wanted to restore its injured prestige, how much they wanted to present the Canadians with a gift on Canada's National Centennial. There is no need for surprise, therefore, that the leaders of Canadian hockey did everything they could so that the Jubilee Tournament would be won by a team from the land of the Maple Leaf.[162]

With no titles at the world tournaments in 1967 and 1969 nor the Olympic Games in 1968, it was increasingly evident, if not certain, that "amateurs" could not win the top honors. To the public and the media, it was not so much that Canada kept losing, it was more that other countries were able to send their best players because they were classified as amateurs while the Canadians were represented by less than their best. The 1969 showing was the worst of all time in terms of standings and losses by a Canadian team. It was evident that some drastic action had to be taken. Reasons and excuses had been bandied about, the relationship between the NHL and the CAHA had been studied*, the care of the international hockey fortunes of Canada had been guided (or misguided, depending on who was speaking) through all phases of the amateur operation by the CAHA. Amateur organization could not handle the task successfully, it was felt. It was time for a non-profit corporation to appear in order to bring sound business acumen to the situation. As a result of a meeting held in Ottawa on February 20, 1969, the announcement was made. The formation of Hockey Canada was to be the instrument for bringing success back to Canadian hockey prestige. One of the reasons as outlined in the Task Force Report was:

> Despite the personal sacrifices of our young players, who have tried gallantly to uphold our hockey traditions, the defeats our National Teams have suffered have had an adverse effect, not only upon our hockey reputation, but upon the standing which Canada generally has abroad. External Affairs has assured us that this deteriora-

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*Report on Amateur Hockey in Canada by the Hockey Study Committee of the National Advisory Council on Fitness and Amateur Sport.

> tion in the overall image of Canada abroad, especially in Europe, because of our recent failures in hockey, is of much concern to them. The "body sporting" in Canada including both those directly involved in the game and the huge public who know it enough to call it our own, are discouraged, pessimistic, angry, or demanding of a better performance.[163]

To that end, Hockey Canada proposed changes in the tournament regulations. In an effort to initiate an "open" competition the submission was made and tentatively accepted. Canada would be allowed to compete in the 1970 tournament which was to be held in Winnipeg and Montreal using nine professional players but excluding ones from the NHL. In addition players could be re-instated as amateurs by February 10 and be eligible to participate in the world competition.[164] There was no mention of Canada's plans regarding Olympic competition.

New life seemed to be breathed into the National team. Using five of nine eligible pros in a tournament in Moscow in December of 1969, Canada had some convincing victories while finishing a close second. At a January 5 meeting of the International Ice Hockey Federation, the new lease on life expired. Because of an opinion tendered by the International Olympic Committee that "amateur" players were in danger of losing their status and therefore not eligible for the Olympic Games by playing with professionals in an official tournament, a vote was taken among the members. The Canadian proposal was declared invalid. Canada still had the alternative left of re-instating whomever she chose to be amateurs but feeling that she would only defeat her intention of promoting an "open" competition, she withdrew her teams from all international play.

Editorial comment across the country was in agreement with the decision. Typical of the reaction was Bob Pennington's article in the Toronto Telegram. He said in part:

> . . . It is pointless now for the CAHA President Dawson to claim Canada was prevented from playing its strongest team. Canada's strongest team lies inside the ranks of the NHL . . . . Canada, most experts agree is still Number One as far as having the best players in the world . . . . When the rest have enough confidence to challenge in a just tournament, pick up the gauntlet with pride.[166]

It has been said that pride comes before the fall but certainly few were thinking of falling when the announcement was made on April 18, 1972 that an eight game series between the USSR and Canada would be held in September of that year. Four games were to be played in Canada, four in the Soviet Union. There were to be no restrictions; it was to be the Soviet Union's best players against Canada's best. It was the classic "confrontation every Canadian who cares about hockey has been restlessly awaiting through a humiliating decade during which this country has failed to seriously challenge Russia's international domination of the sport we call our own."[166] There was national fervor about the mission of Team Canada, as the representative of the nation was to be known. When the Boston Bruins' Weston Adams Jr. and the St. Louis Blues' Sid Abel balked at permitting some of "their" players to play with the Canadian team, there was emotional outpouring of invective directed towards them and American clubs in general. "The players are Canadian and should be playing for Canada", it was said. Noting the importance of the series, Alan Eagleson declared with some urgency: "It is absolutely imperative that we win all eight games against Russia by the largest scores possible. We can't risk failure."[167]

Russian players were solicited for opinions about the series and strangely, they seemed unenthusiastic.

> "We are tired and these games mean a tough grind and a shorter vacation for us," Captain Victor Kuzkin of the Soviet National team confided. The heavy-set Russian pointed out that the hockey season back home will not end until late May. In early July, the top players will have to report to training camp. Exhibition games will be set up for August to prepare against the pros.[168]

The enthusiasm generated in Canada for the series made one commentator feel sorry that former Soviet National coach Anatoli Tarasov, the man most deemed responsible for Russian success, would not be an integral part of the Soviet team.[169] The mention of Tarasov helped one recall a 1968 report by Scott Young in which he relayed a conversation between Tarasov and former Maple Leaf Carl Brewer.

Tarasov was quite eager to know Brewer's opinion of how the Soviets would perform against the best in North America. Brewer's reply:

> If you came to Canada and played a number of matches against the best pro teams, first you would win and then you would lose.
>
> Professionals wouldn't consider you worthy opponents until you beat them. And the point is that your tactics and ways are unfamiliar to them, so at first that would be to your advantage. But after you beat them once, they would change their tactics. So you could only win because you really play another brand of hockey.[170]

In April of 1972 another "superstar" was being interviewed. Bobby Hull had signed a contract calling for $2.75 million to play with the Winnipeg Jets in the new World Hockey Association. Days after his announced signing, Hull, in Halifax, made it known that Harry Sinden had asked him to be part of Team Canada. In accepting publicly, Hull told interviewers who were concerned about possible rough play by the Canadians that there was little chance of the series turning into a brawl. He stated that there would be "mutual respect . . . . We're pros . . . the former Canadian teams were just a bunch of amateurs."[171] But Hull was not to play with Team Canada. The agreement negotiated by the Canadians had stipulated that all players were to have signed NHL contracts. Hull, no longer a member of the NHL, was declared ineligible to play by the Canadian officials. Amid much furore, Hockey Canada and the NHL stood resolutely firm. Telegrams from Canadians in many walks of life, including one from Prime Minister Trudeau were sent. Billboards advocating: To Russia With Hull, appeared in cities across Canada. Impassioned pleas by concerned Canadians failed to alter the original agreement. Ben Hatskin, Hull's new employer, asked: "Is this a Canadian Team or an NHL team? I think Canada is bigger than the NHL and the WHA."[172] In Winnipeg, two executives of Hockey Canada, Phil Reimer and Jack Matheson, announced their resignations from that body. Matheson, a member for only twenty-two days, made his resignation effective July 13, 1972, "the day the NHL became bigger than our country."[173]

The Canadian public was being frustrated. Its anticipation of satisfaction was being undermined by the "player war" between the older more established NHL and the younger upstart WHA. With the "defections" of Tremblay, Cheevers and Sanderson, renewed pressure was applied to make all players eligible. In the face of a possible NHL withdrawal of its co-operation and players if the original terms were ignored, Hockey Canada met to review the situation. They voted 9 - 2 with two abstentions to allow only NHL players as per the original terms. Only Father David Bauer and lawyer John Wintermeyer voted against the conditions. Maurice Regimbal of the Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union and Quebec businessman Rolan Lacrois abstained.[174] In Halifax, the Chronicle-Herald published an editorial page cartoon showing a disgruntled man shaking a fist at a newspaper headline announcing: NHL Defectors to WHA -- Ruled Out of Upcoming Canada Russia Series. Hull Tremblay Cheevers Ineligible. The caption below was: "He's in a foul mood. He's convinced that Russian Money is bankrolling the WHA."[175] While the WHA and Hockey Canada received some criticism over the "Hull affair", the brunt of the invective was directed towards the NHL. In Montreal, Red Fisher reported:

> They'll never forgive Clarence Campbell who's done a man's sized job of painting himself into a corner from Day One. Here's a guy who has been one of the greatest Presidents in Sports, who should be remembered for his stewardship that made the NHL one of the outstanding organizations in sport. It won't work that way now. Campbell? Oh, you mean the guy who stopped Hull from playing with Team Canada eh?[176]

As the controversy receded and the date for the opening game approached, an immense amount of publicity surrounded the series spurring the hope that the NHL All-Stars would help Canada to "recoup its international hockey prestige lost in past years by gallant amateurs too insignificant for the NHL net."[177] There was an expression of some irony in that the CAHA was the Canadian "voice" in International hockey and thus there was the unusual situation of an "amateur" organization making decisions and arrangements for the "professionals".[178] The impression created was that there was a good possibility that mishandling would take place. The suggestion was offered by

Dennis Braithwaite that the Soviets had "reached the end of what they can achieve playing against the world's best amateurs which in North American terms meant not even the second best available."[179] Frank Orr recounted how the Canadian public was ecstatic when the series was announced: "How we all chortled: Those Reds will get theirs from our Big Leaguers. Open the gates and let Hull and Orr and Esposito and Park at them. Say a little prayer for the Russian goalie!"[180]

Red Fisher was among a group of journalists who accompanied Team Canada officials to Moscow in July in order to finalize last minute details. While there, he decided to conduct some "man-in-the-street" interviews[181] so as to get the reaction of the Soviet citizens towards the series and the Canadian players. Muscovites spoke glowingly of the opponents. One citizen described the Canadian professionals as "colossal players. I am told the professionals are something special and that is why we shall suffer." Another said that he thought "the chances of the Canadians are a great deal better than the Soviet team. They are substantially better. Naturally, professionals are stronger than amateurs. The Russians are strong as amateurs but players like Gordie Howe and Stanislas Mikita, they are very strong." A third person was reported as saying the winners would be "the Canadians. As professionals they are too strong." Two friends were interviewed together, one choosing the Soviets to win six of the eight games to be played, the other offering that each team would win four games. When it was explained that the Soviets' opponents would be professionals, the former wanted to revise his estimate saying, "Of course, in that case the games will be complicated." The latter interjected: "Yes, complicated for our players."

If the impressions given from Fisher's "man-in-the-street" interviews served to amplify one aspect of the professional in the eyes of the Soviet citizen, his dialogue with the interpreter added another dimension. It was related that

> . . . the professionalism of the Canadians "concerns" her. "Your professionals, they are rude, are they not? . . . . Professionals aside from being rude, they use drugs do they not? . . . . What is it about your professionals that makes them so good? Is it their rudeness?" . . . . In the minds of the Soviet citizen, the Soviet hockey player is the amateur. Put it another way. The Soviets feel they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. They are the Good Guys in this series.[182]

Even Soviet coach Vsevolod Bobrov contributed to the professional mystique by commenting that the two greatest thrills he ever had in sport were watching Maurice Richard in an exhibition game and the great Brazilian soccer player Pele.

In the midst of the rapidly expanding feelings of "total victory", there were some expressions of prudence. Jean Beliveau and Gordie Howe expressed some need for caution:

> "One thing for sure, the Canadians better be in shape", said Beliveau. "They train differently over there." Here, we train for hockey; there, they train to run, play soccer, do everything."
>
> "They'll be ready for us", said Howe. "They'll provide some surprises. They know they're ready or they wouldn't have agreed to the games."[183]

American Olympic hockey coach, Murray Wiliamson, was forthright in stating that the Canadians were making a mistake in playing the Soviet team in September. "They're playing right into Russian hands", he said.[184] When John Ferguson, the assistant coach of the Canadian team returned from a visit to the USSR, he too voiced concern, saying that he was convinced that Canadian hockey no longer set the standards for the sport.

> Brother, have my eyes been opened. European hockey -- they're ahead of us so far you wouldn't believe. I've been so wrapped up in the National Hockey League for so long, I've never had a chance to look around. Brother, I'm impressed with what I've seen. They know what they're doing.[185]

The two Pinder brothers, each former National team members, also sounded a note of caution while predicting "major upsets" during the series:

> The Canadians and the NHL are taking comfort in a number of myths. First, Canadians tend to believe that the NHL All-Stars in Team Canada would hit the Russians and they would fold under the physical pounding. Those big brutes almost killed us playing international rules. They can hit. They are big and they are in better condition. How can you expect to

> outhit them? Another myth is that the Russians can't shoot and have bad goal-tending. Just because they don't shoot the puck in from over the Blue Line, we say they can't shoot. Ask anybody who has played against them if they can shoot. They shoot hard and they don't waste shots. The Russian goal-tending isn't as bad as we'd like to believe. If it was so bad why are international games so low scoring. With the Nationals, we played against the Russians and the NHL many times and believe me, we did better against the NHL.[186]

Much of the precaution sounded seemed to have been voiced with the calculated effect to minimize the overconfidence as the "professionals" were about to engage the "amateurs". Few if any Canadians were voicing a definite prediction that Canada would lose -- except for John Robertson in the Montreal Star. In his column, he wrote: "Ask me who I like in the forthcoming Canada - Russia series. Canada. Now ask me who's going to win. Russia. I don't even think it will be close."[187] It was really Robertson's first comment on the series. He had been involved with coverage of the Montreal Expos but now he was ready to place his convictions into print. His main reasoning seemed to be that the "Al Eagleson All-Stars . . . were conned into playing the series at the worst conceivable time for Canada, for this reason the best conceivable for the Soviets."[188] He cited the advantages enjoyed by the USSR in conditioning and motivation as two major reasons behind their victories. The lone natural Canadian advantage of individual skills would be minimized by the timing of the series. Robertson

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then proceeded to predict that the Soviets would win six games, two in Canada and four in Moscow, thus further insuring the ire of his readers.

In spite of all the warnings it appeared that the public was listening only to what it wanted to hear. Its hopes were kept soaring when the media reminded them of the scoring power of the New York Rangers' GAG line (Goal-A-Game) of Gilbert, Hadfield and Ratelle.[189] There was reassurance that "the pros would come through" when Dale Tallon was quoted as saying: "We've been listing to their bull (of Russian supremacy) for ten years while they've been playing second-rate Canadian teams. Money talked before patriotism for us so we turned professional and couldn't play for our country. Now we can. It's the chance of a lifetime."[190] That thinking was reinforced when Bobby Clarke predicted an "eight game sweep. Too many guys on our team have too much to lose to give the Russians any kind of hope at all. Take Phil Esposito for example, or Brad Park or Ken Dryden. If we lose, they can't possibly say that they're the best in the world. That's the risk that they're taking."[191] It was re-inforced again when on the eve of the Olympic Games opening in Munich, Doug Rodgers of the Canadian Judo team criticized amateur sport in Canada calling it a "bush-league operation".[192] Even on the eve of the opening game, the public was being told by Soviet player Viacheslav Starshinov that it would be an exciting series because "it is only natural for amateurs to want to know if they can play on the same level as professionals."[193] The Winnipeg Free Press joked about an incident which, in retrospect, served as a premonition of things to come.

> A comrade named Ozorov, a paunchy 55 year old who heads the Russian media, longed for a tennis match upon arrival at Montreal. Someone arranged a match and before the Russian returned to his hotel, there was one badly beaten Montreal tennis pro who asked to remain anonymous.[194]

Anonymity was perhaps what the members of Team Canada might have desired after Game One. A superbly conditioned and finely honed team from the Soviet Union stunned Team Canada and the country. The score, an unexpected 7 - 3, was a bitter awakening. A country which was almost totally united behind Team Canada now almost totally turned on them.

> A disbelieving nation is nursing its shattered ego and re-appraising the qualities of Maple Syrup and Prairie Wheat. Hockey Canada was well on its way to becoming the All-Canadian belly laugh. The fans, the real ones, were outraged by the late game mugging tactics of Phil Esposito and Guy LaPointe. Best of all, even the NHL people themselves had their knives out. President Clarence Campbell was openly second-guessing Harry Sinden's team selection. Lesser heads were questioning his methods in training camp. "The players had too much time off", they charged. Beautiful. Suddenly, that NHL wall of arrogance that has effectively stifled every original thinker since Lester Patrick was showing cracks, its myth of invincibility destroyed.[195]

Former NHL player Johnny Pierson, colour man with the Boston Bruins telecasting crew commented that "it's nice to be in on history but I didn't think it would be Dunkirk."[196] The Soviet news agency Tass announced: "the superiority of the Soviet Union surprised the spectators and the journalists. Towards the end of the game, the superior physical preparation allowed the guests to achieve the advantage . . . to destroy the myth of invincibility of the best Canadian professionals."[197] One of the Russian coaches, Boris Kulagin, was asked if on the basis of the 7 - 3 victory the USSR would challenge for the Stanley Cup. Managing to keep a straight face, he replied: "Stanley Cup is for professional. We are amateurs so we will stay in world's championships and Olympic Games."[198] A Quebec writer who had earlier chosen Canada to win all eight games, was heard to say: "I'm just happy it's not a best of seven series or I wouldn't be going to Russia."[199] It was evident that the Canadians were going to have to control their actions until their conditioning improved. After just one game, the public's expectations seemed to be typified by the comment made prior to the second game in Maple Leaf Gardens. "To-night was to be a milestone in the history of Maple Leaf Gardens -- a night when our top professionals would again show those amateurs from Russia how to play hockey. Instead, Team Canada is in a "do or die" situation."[200]

More than one hundred calls were made to the Toronto Star switchboard by fans who criticized Team Canada for their poor play and "rude behavior by not staying on the ice to shake the hands of the winners. I think our Canadians are weak, spoiled like a bunch of babies. This is supposed to be our National sport but the Russians who looked more disciplined and superior, outplayed us."[201] A Russian player explained that they "had heard so much about the professionals that it took ten minutes of the game to realize that they are just human beings."[202]

In Montreal, the scene of the first game, John Robertson had written a remarkably insightful and emotional article prior to the game. He had received many letters from readers decrying the fact that he had chosen the Soviet Union to win the series as well as the opening game that evening. To some, he was considered to be a "traitor". It seemed necessary for him to state, once again, his reasons for his selection:

> Of course I want Canada to win. That's why I'm so infuriated over the bungling of the people who organized this showdown . . . . In our arrogance I believe we have given too much away. We are ill-prepared . . . . The media and people of this country have not merely established them as favorites, it has become a situation of the Gods versus the mortals. Defeat or even a tie in any nature will not be tolerated . . . . The long suffering hockey fan suddenly has found something real, something meaningful to get excited about -- international hockey where he can root for a country instead of a corporation of grasping little men . . . . It

> doesn't make sense, we stop sending our amateurs to the world championship because they had to play at an unfair disadvantage and now we invite an NHL Governors All-Star Team to take on the Russians and the first thing we do is put the NHLers at an unfair disadvantage . . . . We're too arrogant, and we're commiting the fatal sin of underestimating our opposition. I have this nagging feeling that it's going to cost us . . . .[203]

After Game One the "nagging feeling" was translated into the plaintive headline of the Montreal Star's front page: OH, CANADA![204] During the game, when the Soviet team was in the lead by a 4-2 score, the Tass correspondent stated "with a touch of disappointment in his voice, 'We're watching a legend die'."[205]

Almost every Canadian who was alive in 1972 is aware that the Canadian team eventually won the eight game series four games to three with one tie. The series itself, served as a focal point for the whole country. The early recriminations against Team Canada turned to emotional fervor for them. Paul Henderson and Phil Esposito assumed the proportions of national heroes for their determined efforts and leadership.

> . . . When Paul Henderson scored his decisive goal with only 34 seconds of the game to go, the country collectively flipped. Canadians who usually leave the singing of the national anthem to professionals unashamedly bawled O Canada. Fans snakedanced through the streets and piled into bars where, like those in Montreal's Place Ville Marie, the booze was often on the house. At Stratford, Actor

> William Hutt concluded the storm scene in King Lear, then interrupted the play to announce: "Ladies and gentlemen, Canada has just beaten the Russians 6-5." For sheer jubiliation it would be hard to outdo the Memorial University student in Newfoundland who threw up his arms, leaped in the air and broke his finger on the ceiling.[206]

In the end there were many opinions given about the series. Russian commentary indicated that changes in their thinking regarding the concept of professionalism had taken place.

> Anatoli Tarasov, who had been working with the USSR squad for many years visited Canada on many occasions and believed that the isolationist mood of the pros was not justified and not conducive to the progress of the game. But despite that or perhaps precisely because Tarasov spoke so challengingly about the possibility of beating the professionals, psychologically we were not prepared for the fact the Soviet hockey players would manage to bring down the NHL heroes from the legendary heights.[207]

To some of the USSR commentators, the Canadian pros were still rude:

> Canadian players added a dash of roughhouse tactics and disrespect for the public, opponents and referees, and displayed an inability to take defeats and setbacks with dignity. One felt ashamed for leading forward, Phil Esposito, when he clowned and appealed to the public as he chased a referee all over the rink demanding that he call off his ruling. It was also disgusting to watch another excellent player, Bergman, time and time again, engage rivals in hand to hand combat after play was stopped. And words simply fail to describe the behavior of Parise, who threatened to hit a referee with his stick,

> for which he was quite rightly sent off the ice till the end of the game. The Canadian coaches, unfortunately, were no better than their charges and violated all rules of sports ethics. On cooling off after a game, the Canadians would explain their behavior by poor refereeing. But the referees, of course, are not to blame, since all this is just the negative attributes of professional hockey. At home in Canada, players get away with such ethics.[208]

As to the quality of the play, one Soviet commentator noted:

> We have become accustomed to thrilling games between the best amateur sides of the world, but we must honestly admit that the Canada-USSR series was in a class of its own . . . . One thing is clear: the stars of professional hockey can be beaten and with a difference of more than one goal. This has been proved by the eleven time world champions -- the USSR national team.[209]

To the reporter from the New York Times, the series was of interest because it reflected the cultural contrasts in relation to sport. The Soviets mirrored their collective approach with smooth and accurate passes designed to outnumber the opponent in a given situation. The Canadians true to their individualistic society were more dependent on virtuoso performances. Each side seemed to absorb something of the other's character. The Russian players when they first journeyed to Canada appeared to hold the Canadian pros in awe, even lining up for their autographs after a practise. Team Canada "scouts" at that time ventured that perhaps one of the Russian players could be of the calibre to play with Team Canada. After the series, it was the Canadians who held some of the Russian players in awe. "Many . . . were calling the Soviet Union team the equivalent of Stanley Cup competition and ticking off how many Russian players could make the National Hockey League."[210] The Canadian players at times played with an emotional flair in much the way that one would perhaps more expect from the amateur fluctuating from emotional highs to depressing lows. The Soviets on the other hand gave the impression of consistency, dogged determination and an evenness of play.

> Paradoxically, some Canadians have come away with the impression that in many ways it is the Russians who take the truly professional approach to hockey, more than the stars of the National Hockey League.[211]

The shattering of the Myth also affected the media. For many years they had been faithfully reporting that the professionals were the best without any doubt. They had maligned international hockey at the "amateur" level because it called itself just that "amateur" and was not known by the descriptive term "professional". In the words of Red Fisher of the Montreal Star:

> I've had this idea fixed in my mind that the NHL was the strongest league in the world and its players the most proficient players in the world. Now in what amounts to a one week wipe-out, the idea has been erased. I don't think I can look at the National Hockey League again with the same admiration and respect not because of the people involved but because after years of telling the guy next door that nobody -- not nobody can approach the NHL, the point isn't valid anymore. It's not for me friends. How

> can some of the great and good people in the game convince me that they are the best from now on?[212]

To John Robertson, the result of the many years of training hockey players in a vacuum was a disturbing feature of the series. Ironically, while many writers were telling of the salvaging of Canada's hockey prestige by the display of "heart" in Moscow, he was indicting the team for the loss of a greater sort of prestige.

> What is of more consequence? . . . showing the world that kind of hockey players we produce or showing the world what kind of people we produce. I sat and stared at that television screen and asked myself this basic question. If you were watching this from an impartial observer's chair anywhere in Europe, what conclusions would you draw from the entire series? I looked and I saw us as a bunch of barbarians, being led by a man who qualified as a walking diplomatic disaster.[213]

Perhaps Robertson's assessment is unnecessarily harsh in view of the tremendous obstacles to be overcome and the almost superhuman effort needed by Team Canada. In a situation where they had only themselves and three thousand visible supporters in a sea of unfamiliarity, where one more loss would have not only dropped them from the inflated heights they originally inhabited and haunted them for the rest of their careers, where for the first time in their brief existence they became a team in the best sense of the word, they stood their ground and fought for what they believed. Gilbert wrote that the Team Canada -

Soviet series "demonstrated that the Stanley Cup is not the world championship of hockey but only a kind of provincial elimination tournament."[214] Perhaps . . . and yet that does not really seem to be the lesson of the series. It seems that instead of talking of maximums and maximizing, of specialists and specializing, we as a society should be thinking in terms of optimums and optimizing not only with hockey players but with people. Someone once said that sport is a microcosm of society. If that is the case, then the stripping away of the myth of professionalism in sport has exposed our Saturday night entertainment to be no more shoddy than "our automobiles and our schools and a whole lot of things."[215] Perhaps it simply has pointed out that a great many other facets of our society have been "promoted" to us. Perhaps it is because of this latter point and the relationship of hockey to the Canadian reality that caused the anger of John Robertson or the shame felt by Dr. Wilder Penfield.[216] "National pride takes a beating when it is unexpectedly discovered that our symbols are really no better than our real-life products and activities."[217]

Was it professionalism which was in need of re-evaluation as a result of the Summer of 1972? Or was it the environment within which the professional athlete demonstrated his unique talent. Most certainly, it was both. It was for a group of "amateurs" removed from the mosaic of Canadian life to expose our approach, "to make us aware of our faults."[218] But equally as well,

> . . . it was Big Sport that was exposed by reality . . . . Big Sport is a corrupted version of True Sport, which often attempts to pass itself off as High Sport. It stands to High Sport and True Sport as a molded plastic angel does to sculpture and pottery. Occasionally, there will be moments of High Sport within the framework of Big Sport (Henderson's goals, Esposito's leadership). Usually these are testimonials to individual perseverence and passion, to the ability of individuals . . . .[219]

And one could not help to believe that if the above were true, it also applied to the True Athlete, the High Athlete and the Big Athlete.

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[104] J.G. "Jake" Gaudaur, Letter to the writer, August 9, 1972.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this study of the concept of professionalism a number of trends have been identified. The earliest meaning of the word "professional" in its application to sport was probably that associated with one's occupation. It was from this base, the work that a man performed, which led to two fundamental and parallel developments.

On the one hand, if a person were characterized as an occupational, he was a member of the working class who received money for his employ. When, in 1880 the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen, and in 1884, the Amateur Athletic Association of Canada, were formed, a connection was created between money and sport. Each of these organizations decreed that a person who competed for a money prize, specifically in the sport of Rowing and Track and Field, respectively, could not be classified as an "amateur". It was reasoned that a person who earned money while competing in a sport was in effect "working" at what was generally considered to be a diversion. Therefore he was termed an occupational or a professional. The classification was portable in that the money was the professionalizing agent. Once the athlete received money and was characterized as a professional in one sport, he was considered to be a professional in all. This connotation was promoted by the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada which, soon after its early beginnings, became the recognized governing body for amateur sport. As more and more sports governing bodies began to develop their concepts of amateurism apart from the AAU of C, withdrawals from the latter became more frequent. Sport organizations were developing their concept of amateurism around the notion that commercial influences were acceptable if the performer earned less than what was needed for his livelihood. This, coupled with the increasing tendency of many sports to affiliate with international federations and look to them for eligibility requirements, weakened the AAU of C to the point where that body decided to dissolve itself in 1970.

Existing parallel to this development was the unfolding of the sportsman as an occupational. Aided by the sports of baseball and rowing, opportunities were available for an individual to earn his living by engaging in sport. People were willing to spend money to watch athletic events and through gate receipts and "purses", funds became available to the athlete. Thus he was able to spend time perfecting his skills and raise his level of ability. The "professional" in this sense did not necessarily play in order to be paid; he was paid in order to be able to play. It was the corollary of high skill which was most commonly identified with the professional athlete. The acceptability of the "pro" by the public seemed to emerge during the 1930's. The development of improved transportation and the electronic media with its attendant publicity served to increase the public's awareness of the professional athlete. As the number of professional teams and leagues increased, the playing quality of the amateur clubs decreased. With each loss to an overseas team by an amateur hockey club, the stature of the professional player increased by comparison. The Canadian public was aware of the calibre of the Canadian amateur hockey representative (at least it believed that it was) and took comfort in the fact that Canada was not able to send her best -- her professionals.

However, at the international level of sport it was evident that sanction was being given to the concept of the state supported amateur. In essence, it corresponded to the North American development of providing for highly skilled performers. In Canada, the basis of support was provided by leagues and tournaments operated by commercial entrepreneurs. The state-supported amateur was provided with his basis of support by his government. In each approach, the athlete was provided with the necessary time to perfect his skill and reach his potential. On the one hand he was employed to increase the financial earnings which would accrue to him or the entrepreneur, on the other he was used to increase the prestige of a nation by reflecting on its system of government or way of life.

To the general public in 1972, these nuances of sport were not readily apparent. A professional athlete was identified with a high degree of skill; a myth of invincibility had grown up around his performance. It was generally accepted that an amateur was someone who was not capable of playing as a "pro" or perhaps was working towards being one. Thus when the Team Canada - USSR series was announced, many immediately felt that it would be no contest. It was to be the professional against the amateur. It was not a question of whether Team Canada would win; rather the conjecture centred around the number of goals which would provide the margin of victory. The result was that the Canadian public was not prepared for the initial Soviet victory. Many felt bewildered and a sense of betrayal. As the series progressed, it was evident that the terms amateur and professional were outmoded. At least in the field of international competition, the equation of the national amateur with the typical sterotype of the amateur as a novice no longer held true. The myth of professional invincibility had been shattered. It was no longer automatic that the "professional" was superior to the "amateur", certainly not in international competition at least.

Canada had initiated the movement for "open" competition in the World Hockey Championships as a result of the losses over the years of her representative teams. When the fear of professional contamination was expressed by the International Olympic Committee, permission for the use of professional players was denied and Canada withdrew. After the summer of 1972, there seemed to be less apprehension for the concept of "open" competition. In fact, the classification of athletes as "amateur" and "professional" for purposes of competition in World's Championships seemed outmoded. Soccer had its World Cup competition featuring the best nationals from each country. Hockey seemed to be moving towards a similar concept. The Olympic Games, to this writing, have not followed the trend. Yet the idea of "open" competition for the Olympic Games has certainly been expressed. Perhaps this attitude of a willingness to have "open" events for "World Championship" competitions is best summed up by the following letter to the editor[1] of the Edmonton Journal:

> Sir: The Olympic Games has been a sports festival which will never be forgotten. However, things have changed as most sports now are professional and, of course, against the rules of the Olympic Games.
>
> In honor of the Olympic Games, let us retire it and make it a member of the Sports Hall of Fame. No fights regarding amateurs and professionals are necessary when we just have World Championships.
>
> Camrose Old Competitor

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APPENDIX

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

Between James Renforth, the Champion Sculler of England, and three other English Oarsmen, and Robert Fulton, and three other Oarsmen of St. John, N. B., for a four-oared Race on the Kennebeccasis River, near St. John, New Brunswick, in August, 1871.

It is mutually understood and agreed between the two Crews as follows:—

I. That they shall row a four-oared race in the best boats each crew can get, on the Kennebeccasis River, over the usual Regatta Course, on the 23d day of August, 1871. The distance to be six (6) miles, (three up river from Torryburn Cove, and back again,) for the sum of Five Hundred Pounds Sterling a side, and the Championship. The St. John Crew to row without a Coxswain, and Renforth's Crew to have the right of rowing with or without one, as they may see fit.

II. The Boats to start from Points, Buoys, or Line, such Points, Buoys, or Distances on Line, to be not less than thirty (30) yards apart; and to row a distance of three miles up river, where there shall be two Stake Boats, and turn each Boat its own Stake Boat, being the one on its own side of starting — the turn to be made from left to right — and back to the line of starting: such turning Stake Boats to be one hundred (100) yards apart.

III. The race to be rowed as above stated, on the 23d day of August, 1871, between the hours of seven (7) and ten (10) o'clock, A.M., if the water is perfectly smooth. If the water, in the opinion of the Umpires, or in case of disagreement by decision of the Referee, is not smooth, the Referee shall be empowered to postpone the race to the same hours on the day following, and so on from day to day until the state of the water is favorable.

IV. One-half of the Stakes to be deposited by each party in the hands of the Hon. Thomas R. Jones, of St. John, on the signing of these Articles, and the remaining half to be so deposited not later than the 10th day of August, 1871. Either party failing to make such latter deposit within ten days of the specified time, to forfeit the amount previously deposited.

V. The Crews will nominate their respective Umpires and Distance Judges, two days before the race, and at the same time agree upon a Referee.

VI. The Referee, when appointed, shall be fully empowered to settle all and every matter of dispute which may arise. He shall also act as Starter.

VII. The Distance Judges shall be stationed on or near their respective Stake Boats.

VIII. In consideration of the expense incurred by Renforth's Crew, in consequence of the race being rowed on the Kennebeccasis River, near St. John, N. B., the St. John Crew hereby bind themselves to pay to Renforth's Crew, not later than the 15th day of August, 1871, and after their arrival at St. John, N. B., the sum of Two Hundred Pounds Sterling.

IX. Renforth's Crew hereby bind themselves not to row any race prior to the 23d day of August, 1871 during their absence from home, at any place in North America. (St. John, N. B. excepted). The St. John Crew hereby bind themselves to the same.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties have hereunder affixed their names this 27th day of February A.D. 1871

In presence of
Thomas Walker — Robert Fulton for St John Crew.

In presence of
Thos. Jno. Pickett } James Renforth, for English crew

POOR COPY

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT:
EDWARD HANLAN vs CHARLES E. COURTNEY

Articles of Agreement entered into this twelfth day of September, A.D. 1879, between Edward Hanlan, of Toronto, Ontario and Charles E. Courtney, of Union Springs, New York, who hereby agree to row a five mile race with turn, in best and best boats, in accordance with the following conditions:

Article I -- The said race shall be for the sum of six thousand dollars ($6,000) offered by the Hop Bitters Manufacturing Company of Rochester, N.Y., said prize to be known and designated as the Hop Bitters Prize.

Article II -- The said race to be rowed on Chautauqua Lake on the eighth day of October, 1879, between the hours of three and six in the afternoon, smooth water required, subject to the decision of the referee, who is hereby empowered to postpone the race to the next day, or the first favourable day thereafter, if the water is not in the condition for the race to come off.

Article III -- The said "Hop Bitters Prize" of six thousand dollars shall be deposited in the City Bank of Rochester, N.Y., five days before the said race is rowed, and shall be payable on the order of the referee to the winner of said race immediately after said race.

Article IV -- Mr. Wm. Blaikie, of New York, (if he will consent to act), to be referee, the decision of the referee to be final; the referee to accompany the men over the course, if possible; the expenses of the referee to be paid by both parties in equal shares.

Article V -- The men shall toss for choice of position before starting in the race and shall be started after preliminary warning by the word "go" said word to be given by the referee. The men shall start from two boats moored twenty-five yards apart, and shall row two and one-half miles to buoys securely anchored and properly marked by floats, twenty-five yards apart, each man to turn his own buoy from port to starboard, and return to place of starting.

Article VI -- The referee, in case of any outside interference, if it affects the result of the race, shall order the men to row over again, on the first favourable day, under the original conditions.

Article VII -- The race is to be governed by the laws of boat-racing as adopted by the "National Association of Amateur Oarsmen," subject, however, to the conditions of these articles.

Article VIII -- Each party has the right to select a judge and look after his interest, who shall be allowed to accompany the referee over the course, and any point of disagreement shall be finally decided by the referee.

Article IX -- A judge for each man shall be chosen by mutual consent to see that the turning buoys are not molested or changed; also a judge for each at the finish, with a referee to decide which crossed the winning line first.

Article X -- It is hereby mutually agreed that all steamers and boats must be under the absolute control of the referee, or committee appointed by the referee.

Charles E. Courtney.

Edward Hanlan.

Witness for C.E. Courtney --
J.H. Brister.

Witness for Edward Hanlan --
D.F. Shaw.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT:
EDWARD HANLAN vs ELIAS LAYCOCK

Articles of Agreement entered into this day between Edward Hanlan, of Toronto, Canada, and Elias C. Laycock, of Sydney, New South Wales, to row a straightaway scullers' race from two boats moored off the Star and Garter, at Putney, to the University Post above the Ship at Mortlake, on Monday, January 17, 1881, in best and best boats, for the sum of 500 Pounds a side, the championship of England and the Sportsman championship challenge cup. The two men to be in their boats ready to start at half-past two p.m. Both competitors in rowing to proceed through the centre arch of Hammersmith Bridge. The race to be rowed according to such of the New Thames National Rules as are applicable, cutters being allowed to accompany the race, but they must be kept behind the stern-most man from start to finish. To start by mutual consent, but if not off within fifteen minutes of the time fixed by the umpire to start the men by signal or otherwise.

The first deposit of 250 Pounds a side has been made good with the editor of the Sportsman; and the second and final deposit of 250 Pounds a side to be made good on Thursday, January 6, 1881, at the Bells, Putney between the hours of 8 and 9 p.m. with the editor of the Sportsman, who is hereby appointed final stakeholder, Mr. John Ireland, of Hastings, to be asked to officiate as umpire, but in the event of his inability to do so, the stakeholder to appoint a gentleman to act in that capacity.

The umpire shall have entire jurisdiction over the race from start to finish, and his decision shall be final, and subject to no appeal at law or otherwise. Either party failing to comply with any of these conditions shall forfeit all money down in the hands of the stakeholder.

If, in the opinion of the umpire, the weather or other conditions on the said 17th day of January would prevent a fair trial of skill, the umpire shall have power to postpone the contest from day to day.

The stake boats to be moored to the satisfaction of the umpire half an hour before the time fixed for the race.

(Signed) Edward Hanlan
Witness -- C.H. Ashley.

(Signed) For E.C. Laycock
Ch. A.W. Lett.
Witness -- Henry Kelley.

Date --

PLAYER's CONTRACT WITH A CANADIAN LACROSSE ASSOCIATION TEAM, 1887

Source: The Toronto Mail, June 25, 1887.

This agreement made this ________ day of June AD 1887 between James Duncan of Brantford, hotelkeeper, and ________________ of Woodstock, witnesseth that Duncan agrees to procure for said ________________, a situation in Brantford fully equal to the one now held by him in Woodstock and guarantees to said ________________ wages at not less than $20.00 per week from the time ______________________ comes to Brantford to the end of the lacrosse season of the present year. ________________________ on his part agrees to come to reside in Brantford permanently during the present lacrosse season, to unite with the Brantford Lacrosse Club, to attend practise regularly, to play in matches with the Club and generally to do all in his power to promote the interests of the Club. ________________________ agrees to take up his residence in Brantford not later than July 1.

CONTRACT ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL HOCKEY ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

This Agreement, made this . . . . day of . . . . 1910 between . . . . party of the first part and . . . . party of the second part, Witnesseth:
First:- Said party of the second part agrees to devote his entire time and services as a hockey player to said party of the first part during the period of this contract.

Second:- Said party of the second part agrees to conform to all the rules and regulations now adopted or which may be hereafter adopted by the party of the first part appertaining to his services aforesaid.

Third:- Said party of the second part agrees not to render any services as a hockey player during the time of this contract to any other person, corporation or association other than the party of the first part, without the written consent of the party of the first part to do so.

Fourth:- It is further understood and agreed between both parties to this contract that all the provisions and conditions of the Reservation Clause of the National Hockey Association of Canada are hereby made a part of this contract.

In consideration of the foregoing promises, the party of the first part agrees:

First:- To pay to the party of the second part the sum of $... per game, month or season to be paid in equal weekly, semi-monthly instalments during the championship season of the league of which the first party is a member.

Second:- Said party of the first part agrees to pay the travelling expenses, board and lodging of the said party of the second part whenever said party of the second part may be travelling in the services of the said party of the first part and when not so travelling the party of the second part will pay all his own expenses.

Third:- Said party of the first part agrees to furnish said party of the second part with one, only, complete outfit for his use while employed with the party of the first part, the same to be returned at the termination of his contract.

It is hereby mutually agreed by both parties hereto in consideration of the promises hereinbefore set forth that should the party of the said second part at any time or times or in any manner fail to comply with covenants and agreements herein contained or any of them or any of the rules and regulations of the party of the first part, which are now or may hereafter from time to time be made, or should the said party of the second part at any time or times be intemperate, immoral, careless, indifferent or conduct himself in such a manner, whether on or off the ice, as to endanger or prejudice the interests of the party of the first part, or prove incompetent in the judgement of the party of the first part, then the said party of the first part hereunto shall have the right to discipline, suspend fine or discharge the said party of the second part in such a manner as the said party of the first part shall seem fit and proper and in case of fine imposed it is agreed by said party of the second part that he will pay the same or that same will be withheld as and for liquidated damages.

In order to enable the party of the second part to fit himself for the duties necessary under the terms of this contract, the said party of the first part may require the said party of the second part to report for practice or participate in such exhibition games as may be arranged by the said part prior to the opening of the league season, but it is expressly agreed that the party of the first part shall pay to the party of the second part a salary for such games participated in at a pro rata rate of his regular monthly salary.

It is further agreed that if the said party of the first part should desire the services of the said party of the second part for any period of time after the date mentioned for the expiration of the term mentioned herein or which may be mentioned in any renewal hereof, said first party shall have the right to the same by paying compensation to the said second party for each game at a pro rate rate of regular weekly, monthly or season salary.

In Witness whereof the said party of the first part has caused these presents to be signed by its officers thereunto duly authorized and the said party has affixed his hand and seal on the day and year first above written.

By ____________________ (Club President)

Player signs here ____________________ signature of second party

CANADIAN FOOTBALL LEAGUE
STANDARD PLAYER'S CONTRACT
BETWEEN

ARGONAUT FOOTBALL CLUB LIMITED .... a member of the ~~Western Football Conference~~ Eastern Football Conference (hereinafter referred to as the "Conference"), and of the Canadian Football League,

hereinafter called the "Club."

— AND —

FRANK COSENTINO .... of the .... CITY .... of .... EDMONTON ....

in the PROVINCE .... ALBERTA ....

hereinafter called the "Player"

In consideration of the mutual and respective covenants and agreements hereinafter contained, the parties hereto hereby agree as follows:

1. The term of this contract shall be from the date of execution hereof until the 1st day of June following the close of the football season commencing in 196 9 , subject however to rights of prior termination as specified herein.

2. The player agrees that during the term of this contract he will play football and will engage in activities related to football only for the Club and will play for the Club in all its Conference's scheduled and play-off games, and Canadian Football League play-off games and any exhibition games for which the Club may arrange; and the Club, subject to the provisions hereof, agrees during such period to employ the player as a skilled football player. The player agrees during the term of this contract to report promptly for the Club's training sessions and at the Club's directions to participate in all practice sessions.

3. For the player's services as a skilled football player during the term of this contract, and for his agreement not to play football, or engage in activities relating to football, for any other person, firm, Club or corporation during the term of this contract and for the option hereinafter set forth giving the Club the right to renew this contract and for the other undertakings of the player herein, the Club promises to pay the player the sum of $ 15,500.00 , to be payable as follows: 75% of said salary in weekly instalments commencing with the first and ending with the last regularly scheduled Conference game played by the Club during such season, and the balance of 25% of said sum at the end of the last scheduled Conference game, unless the Club shall, after its last scheduled Conference game have any Conference, or Canadian Football League playoff games to engage in, in which event the remaining 25% shall be paid at the end of the last such play-off games.

4A The Player shall participate in the Canadian Football League Pension Plan and the Club is authorized from time to time, to deduct and remit to the Trustee such sums of money as may be required for the Player's contribution to the Plan.

4. The Club shall be entitled to deduct from each and every payment made under any of the provisions of this agreement, any amount required for the player's income taxes.

5. The Club agrees to pay the proper and necessary travelling and reasonable board and lodging expenses whenever the player is travelling in the services of the Club for games in other than the Club's home city, but when not so travelling, the player shall pay his own expenses.

6. Prior to the start of each football season, the player shall attend before the Club's medical committee for a complete physical and medical examination, and, if, in the opinion of the said medical committee, the player is not completely fit to participate in football activities, this agreement and everything herein contained, at the Club's option, shall be void and of no force and effect.

7. The player agrees to comply with all the rules and regulations now, or which may hereafter be, adopted during the duration of this contract, by the Canadian Football League and/or the Conference and/or the Club.

8. The player agrees that should he at any time or times, or in any manner, fail to comply with the covenants or agreements on his part herein contained, or any of them, or should the player at any time be intemperate, immoral, careless or indifferent, or conduct himself in such manner, whether on or off the field, as in the opinion of the Club, endangers or prejudices the interests of the Club, or fails to attain when requested, first class physical condition, or fails to maintain first class physical condition throughout the football season, then the Club shall have the right to discipline, fine, suspend for any period or indefinitely, or cancel the contract in such manner as the Club shall deem fit and proper, and in case of a fine being imposed by the Club, the player agrees to pay such fine or the Club may withhold an equivalent amount from any salary due or to become due in payment thereof.

9. The player agrees to promptly pay any fine levied on him by the Conference or any of its properly authorized officers or its or the Canadian Football League's Commissioner, and failing such prompt payment the Club is authorized to pay same and deduct such amount from any salary due or to become due to the player.

10. The player represents that he is and will continue to be highly skilled in all types of football team play to play football of the calibre required by the Conference and by the Club, and agrees to perform his services hereunder to the complete satisfaction of the Club and its Head Coach. If, in the opinion of the Head Coach, the player fails at any time during the term of this contract to demonstrate sufficient skill and capacity to play football of the calibre required by the Conference or by the Club, or if, in the opinion of the Head Coach, the player's work or conduct in the performance of this contract is unsatisfactory, or, where there exists a limit to the number permitted of a certain class of player, and in the opinion of the Head Coach, the player, being within that class, should not be included amongst the permitted number, the Club shall have the right to terminate this contract upon notice to the player. It is agreed by both parties that the Club's Head Coach shall be the sole judge as to the competency and satisfaction of the player and his services.

11. Upon termination of this contract during the football season, the player shall only be entitled to receive and the Club shall only be required to pay to the player as compensation for services theretofore rendered hereunder, such portion of the total compensation for the regular season as provided in paragraph 3 hereof, as the number of the regular scheduled Conference games already played bears to the total number of Conference games scheduled for the Club for that season, and upon such termination the Club shall pay to the player the balance of such compensation as then remains owing to the player.

12. The player promises and agrees that during the term of this contract he will not play football or engage in activities related to football in Canada or in the United States of America for any other person, firm, Club or corporation except with the prior written consent of the Club, and that he will not, during the term of this contract engage in any game or exhibition of baseball, basketball, hockey, wrestling, boxing, or any other sport which endangers his ability to perform his services hereunder without the prior written consent of the Club.

13. The player hereby represents that he has special, exceptional and unique knowledge, skill and ability as a football player, the loss of which cannot be estimated with any certainty and cannot be fairly or adequately compensated by damages, and therefore agrees that the Club shall have the right, in addition to any other rights which the Club may possess, to enjoin him by appropriate injunction proceedings against playing football or engaging in activities relating to football in Canada or the United States of America, for any person, firm, Club or corporation, and against any other breach of this contract.

14. It is mutually agreed that the Club shall have the right to sell, exchange, assign and transfer this contract and the player's services to any Club of the Conference or to any Club in a Conference affiliated with the Canadian Football League, and the player agrees to accept such assignment and to report promptly to the assignee Club and faithfully to perform and carry out this contract with the assignee Club as if it had been entered into by the player with the assignee Club instead of with this Club, and the player agrees that the assignee Club shall pay to the Club any amount owing by the player at the time of such sale, exchange, assignment or transfer and shall be permitted to deduct such amount from salary due or to become due to the player.

15. On or before the date of expiration of this contract the Club may, upon notice in writing to the player addressed to 11403-37th B Ave., Edmonton, Alta. ...., renew this contract for a further term until the 1st day of June following said expiration, on the same terms as are provided by this contract, except that (1) the Club may fix the rate of compensation to be paid by the Club to the player during said period of renewal, which compensation shall not be less than ninety percent (90%) of the amount set forth in paragraph 3 hereof, and (2) after such renewal this contract shall not include a further option to renew the contract; the phrase "Rate of Compensation" as above used shall not be understood to include bonus payments or payments of any nature whatsoever other than the precise sum set forth in paragraph 3 hereof.

16. It is mutually understood and agreed that if the operation of the Conference is suspended, this contract shall immediately be terminated and the remuneration to be paid to the player shall be on the basis as provided by paragraph 11 herein.

17. The player acknowledges the right and power of the Club and/or of the Conference and/or of the Conference's or the Canadian Football League's Commissioner to fine, suspend for any period or indefinitely, and/or cancel the contract of any player who accepts a bribe or who agrees to throw or fix a game, or who, having knowledge of the same, fails to report an offered bribe or an attempt to throw or fix a game, or who bets on a game, or who is guilty of any conduct detrimental to the welfare of the Conference, or the Canadian Football League, or of professional football; and the player hereby releases the said Conference and its or the Canadian Football League's Commissioner and the Club, and every officer, director and member of the Conference, the Canadian Football League and the said Club, jointly, and severally whatsoever he may have arising out of or in connection with the decision of the Conference or its or the Canadian Football League's Commissioner or the Club in any of the aforesaid cases.

18. The player agrees that he will not make any appearances on any program, including radio and/or television, or at any function, nor will he write articles pertaining to football or assist in the coaching of any football team other than the Club without the written consent of the Club first obtained.

19. The parties agree that the Club shall have the exclusive right to permit any person, firm or corporation to display, for publicity or commercial purposes, pictures of the player without the player receiving remuneration therefor, and the player shall not allow either gratuitously or for remuneration, any pictures of the player to be used for any publicity purposes without the consent in writing of the Club first had and obtained.

20. If the player is injured as a result of playing football for the Club, the Club will pay the player's reasonable hospitalization until discharge from the hospital, and his medical expenses and doctor's bills, provided that the hospital and doctor are selected by the Club, and provided further that the Club's obligation to pay such expenses shall terminate at a period not more than eight weeks after the injury, and the player releases the Club from any and every additional obligation, liability, claim or demand whatsoever in connection therewith.

21. It is further agreed that if the player is injured in the performance of his duties hereunder during or subsequent to the Club's first scheduled Conference game, and the injury or injuries are such as to render him, in the sole judgment of the Club's physician, unfit to play skilled football during the football season or any part thereof, the Club shall pay to the player, so long as in the sole opinion of the Club's physician the player continues to be unable to resume his duties hereunder, 100% of the salary to which the player would be entitled to pursuant to paragraph 3 hereof, if he had played in the scheduled Conference games; it being understood and agreed that this obligation shall not extend beyond the current playing season and does not include bonuses for playoff games.

22. The player represents to the Club that he is not under contract or option to play football for any other Club in Canada or the United States of America during the term of this contract, and that he has no contractual obligations which would prevent him from entering into the within contract.

23. Should the player become a member of the Armed Forces of either Canada or the United States of America or retire from football prior to the expiration of this contract, or any option contained herein, and subsequently be released from the Armed Forces or return to professional football, then and in either event the time elapsed between the player's induction into the Armed Forces and his discharge therefrom, or between his retiring from professional football and his return thereto, shall be considered as tolled, and the term of this contract shall be considered as extended for a period beginning with the player's release from the Armed Forces or his return to professional football, as the case may be, and ending after a period of time equal to the portion of the term of this contract which was unexpired at the time the player entered the Armed Forces or retired from professional football; and the option contained herein shall be considered as continuously in effect from the date of this contract until the end of such extended term.

24. This agreement contains the entire agreement between the parties and there are no oral or written inducements, promises or agreements except as contained herein.

25. This agreement has been made under and shall be governed by the laws of the Province of Ontario

26. If at the time the club participates in any playoff game or games, the player is on the official club roster as registered with the League Commissioner, he shall receive:

FOR E.F.C. PLAYOFFS:

$300.00 for each League playoff game in which the club participates and an additional
$100.00 if the club wins the League semi-final playoff game and a further additional
$100.00 if the club wins the League final series.

FOR GREY CUP:
$750.00 should the club participate in the game and an additional
$500.00 should the club win the Grey Cup.

27. Player is to receive a bonus of $2,500.00 to cover moving expenses.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the player has hereunto set his hand and seal and the Club has caused this contract to be executed by its duly authorized officer or officers this 25th day of June A.D. 1964.

ARGONAUT FOOTBALL CLUB LIMITED
Club

SIGNED, SEALED and DELIVERED
in the presence of:

By

x Frank Cosentino
Player

Witness to Player's Signature

11403 - 37 B Ave. Edmonton
Player's Address

PLAYER'S COPY

Copy of N.H.L. Standard Player's Contract

STANDARD
PLAYER'S CONTRACT
National Hockey League

The ....

of ....

WITH

I hereby certify that I have, at this date, received, examined and noted of record the within Contract, and that it is in regular form.

....
President National Hockey League.

Dated .... 19......

Amended Form
May 1967

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO PLAYER

Before signing this contract you should carefully examine it to be sure that all terms and conditions agreed upon have been incorporated herein, and if any has been omitted, you should insist upon having it inserted in the contract before you sign.

NATIONAL HOCKEY LEAGUE

STANDARD PLAYER'S CONTRACT

This Agreement

BETWEEN: ....
hereinafter called the "Club",
a member of the National Hockey League, hereinafter called the "League".

—AND— ....
hereinafter called the "Player".

of .... in {Province / State} of ....

Witnesseth:

That in consideration of the respective obligations herein and hereby assumed, the parties to this contract severally agree as follows:—

1. The Club hereby employs the Player as a skilled Hockey Player for the term of ~~one~~ TWO year commencing October 1st, 19 67 and agrees, subject to the terms and conditions hereof, to pay the Player a salary of

Payment of such salary shall be in consecutive semi-monthly instalments following the commencement of the regular League Championship Schedule of games or following the date of reporting, whichever is later: provided, however, that if the Player is not in the employ of the Club for the whole period of the Club's games in the National Hockey League Championship Schedule, then he shall receive only part of the salary in the ratio of the number of days of actual employment to the number of days of the League Championship Schedule of games.

And it is further mutually agreed that if the Contract and rights to the services of the Player are assigned, exchanged, loaned or otherwise transferred to a Club in another League, the Player shall only be paid at the rate of

.... Dollars in the .... League.
or .... Dollars in the .... League,
or .... Dollars in the .... League.

2. The Player agrees to give his services and to play hockey in all League Championship, Exhibition, Play-Off and Stanley Cup games to the best of his ability under the direction and control of the Club for the said season in accordance with the provisions hereof.

The Player further agrees,

(a) to report to the Club training camp at the time and place fixed by the Club, in good physical condition,

(b) to keep himself in good physical condition at all times during the season,

(c) to give his best services and loyalty to the Club and to play hockey only for the Club unless his contract is released, assigned, exchanged or loaned by the Club,

(d) to co-operate with the Club and participate in any and all promotional activities of the Club and the League which will in the opinion of the Club promote the welfare of the Club or professional hockey generally,

(e) to conduct himself on and off the rink according to the highest standards of honesty, morality, fair play and sportsmanship, and to refrain from conduct detrimental to the best interests of the Club, the League or professional hockey generally.

The Club agrees that in exhibition games played after the start of the regular schedule (except where the proceeds are to go to charity, or where the player has agreed otherwise) the player shall receive his pro rata share of the gate receipts after deduction of legitimate expenses of such game. This provision re exhibition games is applicable in the National Hockey League only.

3. In order that the Player shall be fit and in proper condition for the performance of his duties as required by this contract the Player agrees to report for practice at such time and place as the Club may designate and participate in such exhibition games as may be arranged by the Club within thirty days prior to the first scheduled Championship game. The Club shall pay the travelling expenses and meals en route from the Player's home to the Club's training camp. In the event of failure of the player to so report and participate in exhibition games a fine not exceeding Five Hundred Dollars may be imposed by the Club and be deducted from the compensation stipulated herein. At the conclusion of the season the Club shall provide transportation direct to the Player's home.

4. The Club may from time to time during the continuance of this contract establish rules governing the conduct and conditioning of the Player, and such rules shall form part of this contract as fully as if herein written. For violation of any such rules or for any conduct impairing the thorough and faithful discharge of the duties incumbent upon the Player, the Club may impose a reasonable fine upon the Player and deduct the amount thereof from any money due or to become due to the Player. The Club may also suspend the Player for violation of any such rules. When the Player is fined or suspended he shall be given notice in writing stating the amount of the fine and/or the duration of the suspension and the reason therefor.

5. Should the Player be disabled or unable to perform his duties under this contract he shall submit himself for medical examination and treatment by a physician selected by the Club, and such examination and treatment, when made at the request of the Club, shall be at its expense unless made necessary by some act or conduct of the Player contrary to the terms and provisions of this contract or the rules established under Section 4.

If the Player, in the sole judgment of the Club's physician, is disabled or is not in good physical condition at the commencement of the season or at any subsequent time during the season (unless such condition is the direct result of playing hockey for the Club) so as to render him unfit to play skilled hockey, then it is mutually agreed that the Club shall have the right to suspend the Player for such period of disability or unfitness, and no compensation shall be payable for that period under this contract.

If the Player is injured as the result of playing hockey for the Club, the Club will pay the Player's reasonable hospitalization until discharged from the hospital, and his medical expenses and doctor's bills, provided that the hospital and doctor are selected by the Club and provided further that the Club's obligation to pay such expenses shall terminate at a period not more than six months after the injury.

It is also agreed that if the Player's injuries resulting directly from playing for the Club render him, in the sole judgment of the Club's physician, unfit to play skilled hockey for the balance of the season or any part thereof, then during such time the Player is so unfit, but in no event beyond the end of the current season, the Club shall pay the Player the compensation herein provided for and the Player releases the Club from any and every additional obligation, liability, claim or demand whatsoever. However if upon joint consultation between the Player, the Club's physician and the Club General Manager, they are unable to agree as to the physical fitness of the Player to return to play, the Player agrees to submit himself for examination by an independent medical specialist and the Parties hereto agree to be bound by his decision. If the Player is declared to be unfit for play he shall continue to receive the full benefits of this Agreement. If the Player is declared to be physically able to play and refuses to do so he shall be liable to immediate suspension without pay

6. The Player represents and agrees that he has exceptional and unique knowledge, skill and ability as a hockey player, the loss of which cannot be estimated with certainty and cannot be fairly or adequately compensated by damages. The Player therefore agrees that the Club shall have the right, in addition to any other rights which the Club may possess, to enjoin him by appropriate injunction proceedings from playing hockey for any other team and/or for any breach of any of the other provisions of this contract.

7. The Player and the Club recognize and agree that the Player's participation in other sports may impair or destroy his ability and skill as a hockey player. Accordingly the Player agrees that he will not during the period of this Contract and of the option of renewal thereof engage or participate in football, baseball, softball, hockey, lacrosse, boxing, wrestling, or other athletic sport without the written consent of the Club.

8. (a) The Player hereby irrevocably grants to the Club during the period of this Contract and of the option of renewal thereof the exclusive right to permit or authorize any person, firm or corporation to take and make use of any still photograph, motion pictures or television of himself, and agrees that all rights in such pictures and television shall belong to the Club exclusively and may be used, reproduced, distributed or otherwise disseminated by the Club directly or indirectly in any manner it desires.

(b) The Player further agrees that during the period of this Contract and of the option of renewal thereof he will not make public appearances, participate in radio or television programs, or permit his picture to be taken, or write or sponsor newspaper or magazine articles, or sponsor commercial products without the written consent of the Club. Where the Club grants its written consent to any of the activities recited in this sub-section the Player shall receive his proper share of the proceeds of such activities.

9. It is mutually agreed that the Club will not pay, and the Player will not accept from any person, any bonus or anything of value for winning any particular game or series of games except as authorized by the League By-Laws.

10. The Player agrees that during the currency of this agreement he will not tamper with or enter into negotiations with any player under contract or reservation to any Club of the League for or regarding such player's current or future services, without the written consent of the Club with which such player is connected under penalty of a fine to be imposed by the President of the League.

11. It is mutually agreed that the Club shall have the right to sell, assign, exchange and transfer this contract, and to loan the Player's services to any other professional hockey club, and the Player agrees to accept and be bound by such sale, exchange, assignment, transfer or loan, and will faithfully perform and carry out this contract with the same purpose and effect as if it had been entered into by the Player and such other Club.

It is further mutually agreed that in the event that this contract is assigned, or the Player's services are loaned, to another Club, the Club shall, by notice in writing delivered personally to the Player or by mail to the address set out below his signature hereto advise the Player of the name and address of the Club to which he has been assigned or loaned, and specifying the time and place of reporting to such club. If the Player fails to report to such other Club he may be suspended by such other Club and no salary shall be payable to him during the period of such suspension.

The Club shall pay the actual moving expenses incurred by a player during the playing season when such move is directed by the Club and is not part of disciplinary action.

12. If the Club shall default in the payments to the Player provided for in Section 1 hereof or shall fail to perform any other obligation agreed to be performed by the Club hereunder, the Player may, by notice in writing to the Club, specify the nature of the default, and if the Club shall fail to remedy the default within fifteen (15) days from receipt of such notice, this contract shall be terminated, and upon the date of such termination all obligations of both parties shall cease, except the obligation of the Club to pay the Player's compensation to that date.

13. The Club may terminate this contract upon written notice to the Player (but only after obtaining waivers from all other League clubs) if the player shall at any time:

(a) fail, refuse or neglect to obey the Club's rules governing training and conduct of players,

(b) fail, refuse or neglect to render his services hereunder or in any other manner materially breach this contract,

(c) fail, in the opinion of the Club's management, to exhibit sufficient skill or competitive ability to warrant further employment as a member of the Club's team.

In the event of termination under sub-section (a) or (b) the Player shall only be entitled to compensation due to him to the date such notice is delivered to him or the date of the mailing of such notice to his address as set out below his signature hereto.

In the event of termination under sub-section (c) it shall take effect fourteen days from the date upon which such notice is delivered to the Player, and the Player shall only be entitled to the compensation herein provided to the end of such fourteen-day period.

In the event that this contract is terminated by the Club while the Player is "away" with the Club for the purpose of playing games the instalment then falling due shall be paid on the first week-day after the return "home" of the Club.

14. The Player further agrees that the Club may carry out and put into effect any order or ruling of the League or its President for his suspension or expulsion and that in the event of suspension his salary shall cease for the duration thereof and that in the event of expulsion this contract, at the option of the Club, shall terminate forthwith.

15. The Player further agrees that in the event of his suspension pursuant to any of the provisions of this contract, there shall be deducted from the salary stipulated in Section 1 hereof an amount equal to the exact proportion of such salary as the number of days' suspension bears to the total number of days of the League Championship Schedule of games.

16. If because of any condition arising from a state of war or other cause beyond the control of the League or of the Club, it shall be deemed advisable by the League or the Club to suspend or cease or reduce operations, then:

(a) in the event of suspension of operations, the Player shall be entitled only to the proportion of salary due at the date of suspension,

(b) in the event of cessation of operations, the salary stipulated in Section 1 hereof shall be automatically cancelled on the date of cessation, and

(c) in the event of reduction of operations, the salary stipulated in Section 1 hereof shall be replaced by that mutually agreed upon between the Club and the Player.

17. The Club agrees that it will on or before October 1st next following the season covered by this contract tender to the Player personally or by mail directed to the Player at his address set out below his signature hereto a contract upon the same terms as this contract save as to salary.

The Player hereby undertakes that he will at the request of the Club enter into a contract for the following playing season upon the same terms and conditions as this contract save as to salary which shall be determined by mutual agreement. In the event that the Player and the Club do not agree upon the salary to be paid the matter shall be referred to the President of the League, and both parties agree to accept his decision as final.

18. The Club and the Player severally and mutually promise and agree to be legally bound by the Constitution and By-Laws of the League and by all the terms and provisions thereof, a copy of which shall be open and available for inspection by Club, its directors and officers, and the Player, at the main office of the League and at the main office of the Club.

The Club and the Player further agree that in case of dispute between them, the dispute shall be referred within one year from the date it arose to the President of the League as an arbitrator and his decision shall be accepted as final by both parties.

The Club and the Player further agree that all fines imposed upon the Player under the Playing Rules, or under the provisions of the League By-Laws, shall be deducted from the salary of the Player and be remitted by the Club to the N.H.L. Players' Emergency Fund.

19. The Player agrees that the Club's right to renew this contract as provided in Section 17 and the promise of the Player to play hockey only with the Club, or such other club as provided in Section 2 and Section 11, and the Club's right to take pictures of and to televise the Player as provided in section 8 have all been taken into consideration in determining the salary payable to the Player under Section 1 hereof.

20. The Player hereby authorizes and directs the Club to deduct and pay, and the Club hereby agrees to deduct and pay, to the National Hockey League Pension Society, out of the salary stipulated in Section 1 hereof on behalf of the Player the sum of Fifteen Hundred Dollars ($1500.00) (Canadian Funds) or such lesser proportion thereof as the number of days' service of the Player with the Club under this contract bears to the number of days of the League Championship Schedule of games, and to obtain from the National Hockey League Pension Society a proper receipt for such sum in the name of the Player.

21. It is severally and mutually agree that the only contracts recognized by the President of the League are the Standard Player's Contracts which have been duly executed and filed in the League's office and approved by him, and that this Agreement contains the entire agreement between the Parties and there are no oral or written inducements, promises or agreements except as contained herein.

In Witness Whereof, the parties have signed this ______________ day

of ______________ A.D. 19 67

WITNESSES:

Maple Leaf Gardens Limited
Club

______________ By ______________
For the President

____
Player

______________ ______________
Home Address of Player

North American Soccer League

UNIFORM PLAYER'S AGREEMENT

THE PARTIES TO THIS AGREEMENT, dated ________________________, 19____

are ______________________________________ (herein called the *"Club"*), and

____ (herein called the *"Player"*).

THE PARTIES HEREBY AGREE AS FOLLOWS:

ARTICLE I

Duration and Payments

SECTION 1.1 **Term.** The term of this Agreement shall be from the date on which Player signs the Agreement until December 31, 19____.

SECTION 1.2 **Compensation.** Commencing on ________________, 19____, the Club shall pay Player (in semi-monthly installments) in one of the following methods:

*(a) During the term of this Agreement $________ per month and additional compensation at the rate of $________ per month for each week (or part thereof) in which Player is on the Club's Active List.

*(b) During the season $________ per month and additional compensation at the rate of $________ per month for each week (or part thereof) in which Player is on the Club's Active List.

*(c) Such sum and on such conditions as are set forth in Section 8.8 ("Special Covenants").

The word "season" means the playing season as annually determined by the League. The term "Active List" shall mean the list as filed from time to time with the League during the season and for exhibition and tour games.

SECTION 1.3 **Expenses.** The Club shall pay all reasonable traveling expenses of Player while with the Club in other than the Club's home city, including board, lodging, and transportation costs. The Club shall pay the reasonable traveling expenses of Player from his home in the United States or Canada to the Club's training camp at the beginning of the Club's training season and to his home in the United States or Canada at the end of the playing season.

SECTION 1.4 **Moving Expenses.** If Player is required in writing by the Club to move his domicile permanently to North America from elsewhere in the world, the Club shall make one payment (but only one) to him for his moving and travel expenses of an amount approved by the League.

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* **Important Note:** Clauses (a), (b), and (c) of Section 1.2 are alternatives. The two clauses which are not intended to be used must be stricken.

ARTICLE II

General Obligations of Player

Section 2.1 **Playing and Training.** Player shall participate in all of the Club's training sessions and play soccer to the best of his ability in all of the games (whether or not sponsored by the League) in which he is directed to play by the Club.

Section 2.2 **Club Rules and Discipline.** Player shall comply with the Club's rules, and acknowledges the Club's right to suspend or fine him or to terminate this Agreement for any violation of: (a) the Club's rules, or (b) this Agreement, or (c) the Constitution or Regulations of the League. Any fine imposed on Player by the League or by the Club may be deducted from Player's compensation.

Section 2.3 **Promotion.** Player shall participate as directed by the Club in all promotional and publicity activities of the Club and the League and shall not be entitled to any additional compensation therefor. He shall permit his picture to be taken for still photographs, motion pictures or television at such times and at such places as the Club may designate, and all rights thereto shall belong to the Club. Player shall not participate in radio or television programs, permit his picture to be taken, write or sponsor books, newspaper or magazine articles or endorse commercial products without the written consent of the Club if any such activity is related in any way to the game of soccer or to Player's employment as a soccer player.

Section 2.4 **Exclusive Service.** Player (a) shall play soccer only for the Club or as directed by it, and (b) shall not enter into negotiations or agreements with any other professional soccer club.

Section 2.5 **Other Sports.** Since Player acknowledges that his participation in any other athletic activity might impair or destroy his skill as a soccer player, Player shall not, without the *written* consent of the Club, engage in any such athletic activity which in the sole opinion of the Club might endanger his ability to perform his services hereunder.

Section 2.6 **Physical Examinations.** Player shall promptly submit at the expense of the Club to such medical and dental examinations and treatments as are prescribed by the Club.

ARTICLE III

Representations of Player

Section 3.1 **Equitable Relief.** Player represents that he possesses unique knowledge and skill as a soccer player and that his services to be rendered hereunder are of an unusual and extraordinary character which gives them peculiar value which cannot be adequately compensated for in damages at law. Any breach of this Agreement by Player would cause the Club irreparable injury. Therefore, the Club shall be entitled (in addition to its other remedies) to enjoin Player from taking or continuing any course of conduct which would or might constitute a breach of this Agreement.

Section 3.2 **Condition of Player.** Player represents that he has no physical or mental defects known to him which have not been disclosed in writing to the Club prior to the signing hereof.

Section 3.3 **Interest in Soccer Clubs.** Player represents that he does not and will not directly or indirectly own stock or have any financial interest in the ownership or earnings of the Club, any other League Club or any other professional soccer club.

ARTICLE IV

Assignment of Agreement

Section 4.1 **Right to Assign.** This Agreement (including Player's services) may be assigned by the Club, and re-assigned by any assignee, (a) to any other professional soccer club in the United States or Canada or to the League itself, and (b), if it obtains the advance written consent of Player, to any professional soccer club located outside the United States and Canada.

Section 4.2 **Salary of Assigned Player.** The sums payable to Player for the period in which this Agreement is in force shall not be diminished by any such assignment, except for failure to report to the Assignee-Club within the time prescribed by the League Regulations.

Section 4.3 **Obligations of Assignor and Assignee Clubs.** All rights and obligations of the Assignor-Club shall become the rights and obligations of the Assignee-Club, except that the latter shall be liable to Player only for payments accruing from the date on which he is required to report to it, with the Assignor-Club to remain liable solely for any payments accrued prior to that date.

Section 4.4 **Moving Expenses of Assigned Player.** The Assignor-Club shall pay to Player all of his reasonable moving and travel expenses resulting from the assignment, and Assignee-Club shall reimburse it for such expenses.

ARTICLE V

League Rules and Disputes

Section 5.1 **League Discipline.** Player shall comply with the Constitution and Regulations of the League and with all applicable decisions of the League's officers. Player submits himself to the discipline of the League for any violation of the League's Constitution or Regulations, including actions which the League (in its sole opinion) deems scandalous or not in the best interests of soccer.

Section 5.2 **Settlement of Disputes.** Within 30 days from the date any dispute arises between Player and the Club it shall be referred to the League for arbitration and its decision shall be final, subject to the terms of the League's Constitution.

Section 5.3 **Release of Claims.** Player hereby releases the League's officers, the League, each Club, and all persons affiliated with the League or with any Club from all claims arising out of any decision or other action of the League's officers.

ARTICLE VI
Termination

SECTION 6.1 **Termination by Player.** If the Club fails to perform any of its obligations hereunder Player may terminate this Agreement: (a) if he notifies the Club in writing of its alleged default and the Club fails (in Player's opinion) within 10 days to remedy such default, and (b) if, Player having thereafter notified the League in writing of the Club's alleged default, the League determines that the Club is in default and the Club fails, in the League's opinion, to take corrective action within 10 days after the League directs it to do so in writing.

SECTION 6.2 **Termination by the Club.** The Club may terminate this Agreement upon written notice to Player if Player shall at any time:

(a) fail to comply with the Club's rules, the League's Constitution or Regulations or the rulings of any League officer; or

(b) fail, in the opinion of the Club's management, to exhibit sufficient skill or competitive ability to qualify for or continue as a member of the Club's team; or

(c) fail to obtain immigration clearance permitting his admission into the United States or Canada, or lose the right to remain lawfully in those countries; or

(d) fail to perform his services hereunder; or

(e) in any other manner breach this Agreement.

SECTION 6.3 **Travel After Termination.** In the event the Club terminates this Agreement pursuant to Section 6.2(b), it shall (at its expense) provide for Player's transportation to the domicile which he had at the time of signing this Agreement if (a) that domicile was outside North America and (b) Player has notified the Club in writing that he desires to return to such domicile.

ARTICLE VII
Renewal of the Agreement

SECTION 7.1 **Club May Renew.** On or before December 15 in the final year of this Agreement, the Club may by written notice to Player renew this Agreement on the same terms as set forth in this instrument. The Club shall not be entitled to any further option to renew this Agreement.

ARTICLE VIII
Miscellaneous

SECTION 8.1 **Injury to Player.** In the event Player is injured within the scope of his employment and if Player gives written notice of such injury to the Club within 10 days of such injury (including the time, place, cause and nature of the injury), the Club shall, while this Agreement is in force, provide such medical care as is necessary in the opinion of the Club physician and shall continue to pay the compensation provided for in Section 1.2 (less the amount to which Player is entitled under workmen's compensation laws), so long as it is the opinion of the Club physician that Player is unable to perform his services hereunder because of such injury.

SECTION 8.2 **National Emergencies.** The League may suspend the operation of this Agreement during any national emergency in the United States or Canada.

SECTION 8.3 **Method of Giving Notice.** Any notice, request, demand, approval or consent required or permitted under this Agreement to be given by one party to the other, shall be in writing and shall be deemed sufficiently given if delivered in person or mailed (registered, certified or first class), postage prepaid, to such other party at his or its address set forth in this Agreement or to such other address as such other party may previously have furnished to the sender in writing.

SECTION 8.4 **Amendments.** This Agreement is an entire Agreement superseding all prior and contemporary oral or written statements by the parties and can be amended only by a written amendment signed by Player and a duly authorized representative of the Club.

SECTION 8.5 **Governing Law.** This Agreement shall be governed by and construed in accordance with the laws of the State or Province in which the Club plays its home games.

SECTION 8.6 **Right of the League to Terminate.** *A copy of this Agreement shall be filed by the Club with the League within 10 days after its execution by the Club and Player.* Within 10 days of such filing, a League officer may terminate this Agreement, in which event (a) he shall give both parties written notice of termination, and (b) this Agreement shall thereupon be deemed of no further force or effect.

SECTION 8.7 **Extended Term.** This Agreement shall, at the option of the Club, be extended for that number of days in which Player (during the term of this Agreement): (a) is prevented from entering the United States or Canada because of immigration laws, regulations or rulings, or (b) is ineligible to play soccer in the League because of his being on the Voluntarily Retired, Restricted, Ineligible or Military Lists (provided in the League Regulations). The renewal option contained in this Agreement shall remain in effect during such extended term. Player shall not be entitled to any compensation for any such period in which he is prevented from entering the United States or Canada or is ineligible to play soccer in the League.

SECTION 8.8 Special Covenants.

SIGNATURES OF THE PARTIES

Date of signing in triplicate: ____________________, 19__

____
Player

____
Street Address

____
City, State, Country

____
Social Security Number

____
Club

____
In behalf of the Club

PARENTAL CONSENT

This Agreement must also be signed by one of the Player's parents *if* Player is a minor within the meaning of the law governing this Agreement.

____
Parent (Legal Guardian) of Player

AGENT OF CLUB

Player's signature (and that of his parent, if applicable) was obtained by the undersigned authorized representative of the Club.

____
Authorized Representative of the Club

RECORDED BY THE LEAGUE

Recorded on ____________________, 19__

____
Executive Director

Ontario Hockey Association – Major Junior "A"

PLAYER'S CONTRACT AND AGREEMENT

Article of Agreement between ....

of the City of .... in the Province of ....

Party of the First Part, hereinafter called the "CLUB", and ....

of the City of .... in the Province of ....

Party of the Second Part, hereinafter called the "PLAYER".

WITNESSETH that the parties hereto do agree with each other as follows, the agreements of each party being consideration for the agreements of the other:—

1. The PLAYER shall receive from the CLUB in return for his exclusive services as a hockey player, the sum of $ .... per week ....

....

(This does not include tuition fees paid directly to School Boards.)

For the duration of the regular season schedule of the CLUB, including all exhibition games, and such club duties as the CLUB may deem necessary. PLAYER shall receive the same rate per week pro rata for all playoff games in which the said CLUB may participate, provided however, that the said PLAYER shall be paid only for such playdown period as he is retained by the said CLUB for playoff competition.

2. The PLAYER hereby undertakes and agrees that he will, at the request of the Club, enter into a contract for the following playing season upon the same terms and conditions as this contract except as to salary. The salary shall be such as may be mutually agreed upon by the PLAYER and CLUB and if such agreement cannot be obtained shall be determined by an arbitrator appointed by the President of the Ontario Hockey Association.

If the CLUB wishes to exercise its option upon the PLAYER'S services it shall do so before the First day of November in the year following the conclusion of the season for which this contract has been entered into or any extension thereof by tendering to the PLAYER before the said date the necessary contract in accordance with the terms hereof.

If no such tender is made the PLAYER shall be free from all contractual obligations to the CLUB.

3. This contract is for the services of the said PLAYER for the season of 1972-73. In the event of the sale, trade, or transfer of the said PLAYER his salary, aforementioned, shall not be altered. The original copy of this agreement and contract must be forwarded immediately to the CLUB to which the PLAYER is traded, sold, or transferred. The CLUB reserves the right to terminate this contract and furnish PLAYER with required release.

4. The PLAYER shall abide by the rules and regulations of the CLUB and the Ontario Hockey Association both on and off the ice, and must be a credit to the CLUB. For an infraction of this clause the CLUB or the Ontario Hockey Association may suspend the PLAYER without salary or impose a fine.

5. The PLAYER shall be held personally responsible for the payment of all fines imposed by the Ontario Hockey Association. The CLUB shall be liable to a fine of $1,000.00 if said CLUB pays for the PLAYER'S fine or fines.

6. Should the PLAYER be disabled or his ability to perform his duties be impaired at any time during the said playing season, the CLUB may deduct from the amount then due, or to become due under this contract, such proportion thereof as the period of his disability or impairment may bear to the term of the said playing season, but no such deduction shall be made by reason of any accident or injury received by the PLAYER while in performance of his regular duties under the direction of the club.

7. Should the PLAYER become disabled, as provided in the next preceding clause, he will submit himself to medical examination and treatment by a regular physician, in good standing, to be selected by the CLUB, such examination and treatment when made at request of the CLUB shall be at its expense, unless made necessary by some act or conduct of the PLAYER contrary to the terms of this agreement or rules and regulations under it. Any or all future CLUB responsibility shall terminate upon discharge of said PLAYER by attending physician.

8. The PLAYER will be reimbursed for transportation to and from training camp as well as meals and lodging during the training camp period.

9. Should the PLAYER return to his home at the completion of the CLUB'S playing season, the CLUB will pay for his transportation and meals.

10. A copy of this contract must be signed by the PLAYER, CLUB president and manager or secretary, together with the PLAYER'S playing card, birth certificate and any other necessary documents and must be forwarded to the Ontario Hockey Association prior to taking part in any of the regular league schedule.

FOR PLAYER only

Name in full ....

Place of birth ....

Day .... **Year** ....

Height .... **Weight** ....

Position .... **(Shoots (R or L)**

Player was registered with the following teams:

1967-68 ....

1968-69 ....

1969-70 ....

1970-71 ....

1971-72 ....

CLUB signature ....

PRESIDENT **MANAGER OR SECRETARY**

Player's signature ....

AFFIDAVIT

WE, ... **of the City of** ....

in the County of ...., **President, Manager or Secretary of the said CLUB,**

severally make oath and say: ....

1.—The information given in the above Agreement and Contract is true, correct and complete in every respect and all reimbursements to be paid to the above mentioned PLAYER for hockey services rendered by him to the CLUB before the 1972-73 **hockey season are disclosed.**

SWORN BEFORE ME at the)
City of)
in the County of)
this **day**
of , A.D. 197)
A Commissioner, etc.